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PRESCOTT'S CONQUEST OF MEXICO.

ARTICLE I.

History of the Conquest of Mexico, with a Preliminary View of the Ancient Mexican Civilization, and the Life of the conquerer, Hernando Cortez. By William H. Prescott, author of the History of Ferdinand and Isabella. In 3 vols. 8vo. pp. 488, 480, 524. Harper & Brothers: New York, 1843.

THIS is truly a splendid work on a splendid subject. Much as we expected from the accomplished historian of the magnificent reign of Ferdinand and Isabella, our expectations have not been disappointed in the present work. It not only fully sustains, but it even elevates the character of Mr. Prescott as a historian. We view his second as far superior to his first production both in matter and manner; and we have not a doubt that if he persevere in the career upon which he has happily entered, he will rank ere long among the very first, if not as the first, of our writers, and will stand very high even in proud and jealous England.

The style of the present work is chaste, polished, dramatic; and it compares favorably with that of any American writer with whom we are acquainted, not excepting even the exquisite Washington Irving. It combines something of the chaste smoothness and delicate taste of Irving, with the liveliness of Paulding and Stephens; while it is, to a great extent, free from the carelessness and occasional bad taste of the two last, and of Cooper; and it is far superior, in every respect, to that of the inflated and transcendental Bancroft. The constant sweetness of Irving cloys. After perusing one of his works, you feel as if you had spent a day in a rich flower garden, laid off with exquisite taste, and filled with the choicest plants: you are delighted with every thing; you behold nothing to find fault with, but, in the evening, your head is wearied, and aches with the excessive fragrance.

The atmosphere in which Mr. Prescott moves is less aromatic, but is, perhaps for this, all the purer and more refreshing. His Conquest of Mexico loses little by comparison with the Life of Columbus and Astoria, perhaps the best historical works of Irving—productions which do not appear to come under the remark just made. In other respects, however, Prescott falls greatly below Irving in modesty, in good humor, in freedom from undue prejudice.

Still it would be exaggerated eulogy to say that Mr. Prescott's style is wholly faultless. The severe critic will perhaps find it too stiff and labored in the introduction, and occasionally too tame or careless in the body of the work. The former evidently smells of the lamp; in it the writer appears ill at ease and *géné;* he treads the stage clad in the buskin and uniform. In the latter he descends, puts on a graceful deshabille and intermingles carelessly

in the stirring scenes of life. And as far as style is concerned, we are free to acknowledge that we greatly prefer too much carelessness, to too great rigidity.

The introduction, comprising two hundred pages on the Aztec civilization, is one of the most highly wrought and elaborate essays we have ever read. This, together with another essay in the appendix to the third volume, on the origin of the Aztec civilization, the author assures us, "cost him as much labor, and nearly as much time, as the remainder of the history."* The inquiry into the origin of the Aztec civilization furnishes a very learned, though somewhat skeptical, view of the various theories of antiquaries for explaining what Mr. Prescott calls, "the riddle of the Sphinx, which no Œdipus has yet had the ingenuity to solve."† And the result of his labors proves that he himself is no Œdipus: he reaches a conclusion which strongly reminds us of that of Johnson's Rasselas, "in which nothing is concluded."‡

The introduction embodies in a highly condensed form, whatever Clavigero, Sahagun, Torquemada, Boturini, Veytia, Camargo, Ixtlilxochitl,§ Baron Humboldt, Lord Kingsborough, and other learned antiquaries had written on the interesting subject of the Aztec civilization. From it we gather, that however advanced the nations of Anahuac might have been in civilization, they were still in a very rude and savage condition. Their ignorance of the metals, and of the use of domestic beasts of burden; their imperfect and cumbrous picture-writing; their mean and crouching subserviency to the will of a despot; and above all their brutish cannibalism, and their loathsome human sacrifices, all contributed to sink them very low in the scale of civilization. From their semi-civilized, or rather wholly barbaric condition, even a Voltaire could not contrive to make out a plausible argument or even a sneer against Christianity.

It appears to us that Mr. Prescott's *forte* lies in description. Many of his descriptions, whether of scenery, of battles, or of natural phenomena, are peculiarly dramatic: some of them have the vividness of pictures. We might furnish many examples of this from the history of the conquest. But we have much to say on a theme so ample and inviting, and our limits are very contracted. Hence we must reluctantly confine ourselves to those passages which will naturally come up in the train of our remarks; and we can barely allude to the following additional ones which struck us forcibly, viz: the graphic description of a storm which broke over Mexico on the night of the conquest;* the vivid account of the storming of the great temple of Cortes and his veterans;† and the lively manner in which are painted the dreadful horrors of the *Noche Triste*.‡

But style, however important, is not every thing in a historian. It is to him what drapery is to a statue. To ascertain the real merit of the work, we should examine the proportions and symmetry of the figure itself, its fidelity as a representation of the original, and the amount of artistic skill displayed in its formation. Research, accuracy, and impartiality, are three essential qualities of a good historian.

Without the first, he were wholly unqualified for the task; he would be like an artist without suitable materials and tools. Without the second, all research however laborious would be thrown away; and the historian would resemble the statuary, who, with polished instruments and beautiful marble, should still, through carelessness or want of genius, execute but a wretched piece. Finally, without the third, all previous research, as well as the sincere wish to be accurate, would generally prove unavailing: the historian would perhaps unconsciously miscolor or misstate facts. His work would resemble that of a painter who, though not deficient in labor, mechanical skill, and exactness, should yet spoil his piece with misplaced or excessive coloring.

Does Mr. Prescott possess these three qualities essential to a historian? We would be much pleased to be able to answer without exception or reservation in the affirmative: we

* Pref. p. x. † Prescott iii, 376.
‡ Cf. Ibid. iii, 418.
§ The Mexican name of a distinguished Indian writer—the lord of Tezcuco. Those who are startled at this euphonious name, may try whether they can pronounce, at a breath, the following specimens of Mexican diction: *Notlazomahuizteopixcatatzin*, the name of a priest; or this name of a messenger, *Amatlacuilolitquitcatlaxtlahuitli!!* See Prescott, iii, 395, *note*.

* Prescott, iii, 208, *et seq.* † Ibid. ii, 324, *et seq.*
‡ Ibid. ii, 361, *et seq.*

re really partial to the man who, besides be-
ıg a fellow-countryman, exhibits himself in
is writings the easy and polished gentleman.
Ve feel no disposition to do him the least in-
ıstice; and deeply do we regret that a love of
:uth compels us to give different answers in
egard to these different characteristics of the
istorian.

His laborious research is unquestionable.
He has thoroughly examined, and seems to
ave carefully sifted all the original authori-
es in relation to the conquest. To obtain the
ecessary documents, many of which were in
anuscript, he spared no labor nor expense.
:he great facilities which his previous re-
earches had already given him, while pre-
aring the history of Ferdinand and Isabella,
ere still farther increased by the kindness
nd liberality of many of the leading Spanish
terati of the day. He was allowed free ac-
ess to the valuable papers collected with great
abor and care by Don Juan Baptista Muñoz,
he indefatigable royal historiographer of the
ndies; as well as to those of Don Vargas Ponçe,
he late president of the royal academy of his-
ory at Madrid. The liberality of the actual
resident of this academy, the learned and ac-
omplished Don Martin Fernandes de Nava-
ette, also permitted the free use of his nu-
nerous manuscripts.*

From these ample collections, the accumu-
ation of half a century, he obtained no less
han eight thousand pages of unpublished docu-
nents.† He was also greatly aided in his
ask by men of distinguished learning in Mex-
co; among whom he names with gratitude
Count Cortina, Don Lucas Alaman, the minister
f foreign affairs, and his friend, Don Angel
Calderon de la Barca, late minister plenipoten-
iary of the court of Madrid to the Mexican
epublic.‡

To these abundant sources of information,
dd the liberal aid of several Italian scholars
f eminence, among whom the most conspicu-
us was the duke of Monteleone, the heir and
epresentative of Cortes, who freely communi-
:ated the family papers.§ With all these fa-
:ilities, Mr. Prescott was enabled to give to the
world, we believe for the first time, the whole
substance, and a partial translation of the fa-
nous *fifth* despatch or *Carta Quinta* of Cortes,

* Pref. pp. vi, vii. † Ibid. ‡ Ibid. § Ibid. viii.

detailing the startling events of his dreadful march through Chiapa to Honduras.*

Most of the original historians of the conquest, as well as those who composed the earliest and best histories of it from the original authorities, were either Spaniards or Mexicans. To the former class—by far the most numerous and important—belong the terse and vigorous Cortes himself, the sympathetic, enthusiastic and exaggerating Las Casas, the faithful Torquemada, the profound antiquary Sahagun, the concise and elegant Gomara, the pious and learned Toribio, the classical Herrera, the judicious Zurita, the brilliant though more recent De Solis, and last, not least, that charming old gossiping chronicler, Bernal Diaz, himself one of the conquerors. To the latter belong the accomplished and elaborate Father Clavigero, a native of Vera Cruz; the learned and diffuse Ixtlilxochitl, the lord of Tezcuco; Muñoz Camargo, the historian of Tlascala; and the later, Antonio Mariano Veytia, Gama, and Archbishop Lorenzana.†

To these authors we may add Boturini, a learned antiquary, who, though an Italian by birth, yet wrote in Spanish. And be it borne in mind, that the most ancient and famous of all these writers—Sahagun, Torquemada, Gomara, Las Casas, Toribio, and Clavigero—were all Catholic priests. But for *their* labors and patient researches, in fact, our accounts of the conquest would have been meagre indeed.

All these early historians our author seems to have thoroughly studied and examined. Appropriate references to them fill the margin of his pages. He furnishes chapter and verse for every important statement; and where the original authors disagree, he seems fairly to canvass their respective weight and arguments. We are delighted with this: there is some satisfaction in reading an author who thus proves himself fully acquainted with his subject. No one who has carefully perused the history of the conquest can deny to the accomplished writer the praise of ample research.

His general accuracy seems equally unquestionable. Whenever his judgment is not unduly biassed, he does substantial justice, both to the subject and to the character of the

* Volume iii, p. 279, *et seq.* and Appendix No. XIV.

† Mr. Prescott furnishes us with excellent and well written sketches of all these distinguished writers: and this is perhaps one of the greatest merits of his book.

conquerors. He manifests in general a charming moderation, and he furnishes his readers with the arguments on both sides of the more important questions which arise. Perhaps he even carries this apparent fairness too far: he occasionally falls into the error of the modern eclectic school of history, which makes it fashionable to support both sides of a historical argument with so much plausibility, as almost to bewilder the understanding, and to leave the real position of the historian a complete puzzle.*

But the most important question is: was he really impartial? Did he approach the subject with a mind free from all undue bias? Was there no lurking prejudice to cause obliquity of view? In other words, would he have drawn precisely the same picture of the conquerors had they not been Roman Catholics? Has he, in one word, redeemed the pledge given by himself in his preface?†

"I have endeavored not only to present a picture true in itself, but to place it in its proper light, and to put the spectator in a proper point of view for seeing it to the best advantage. I have endeavored at the expense of some repetition to surround him with the spirit of the times, and, in a word, to make him, if I may so express myself, a cotemporary of the sixteenth century. Whether, and how far, I have succeeded in this, he must determine."

Availing ourselves of the privilege thus extended to us, as one of his readers, we regret to have to express the deliberate conviction, that he has not "succeeded" in accomplishing, to the full, what he "endeavored" to do, with so much apparent honesty of purpose. More than once religious prejudice has betrayed him into grievous error, as well as into gross injustice to the conquerors. And we say it the more freely, as it is almost the only stain on an otherwise faultless book—a dark spot, or rather a collection of spots on the sun—which, however, it requires no telescope to discover. We regret this fault the more, as such prejudice is wholly unworthy of the enlightened and moderate mind of Mr. Prescott and it will add nothing to his posthumous fame.

What particular set of religious opinions he entertains, or whether he entertain any we have no means of ascertaining. From some passages in his work, we would infer that his religious tenets sit very lightly on him. He is evidently not *géné* by them they appear to be of the most liberal kind, in the most modern and approved sense of the word: in regard to religion, he evidently sins more by defect than by excess.

But one thing is certain: his prejudices against every person and thing Catholic flow in a strong and turbid current which bears him along on its foamy waters, and overwhelms at times his clear intellect. We will furnish a few out of many proofs of this, to show how much fairness and impartiality we may expect, even from the polished Mr. Prescott, whenever our religious principles are involved. And these specifications will further enable the impartial to judge, with how many grains of allowance many of his statements concerning the essentially religious character of the conquest and of the conquerors are to be received.

He seems to be terribly haunted by the ghost of the defunct Spanish inquisition. Its "raw head and bloody bones" must have been an almost hourly apparition to him, while engaged in preparing his work; and we have no doubt that he was often startled, amidst his historical researches, by suddenly observing its fiery eye-balls fiercely glaring at him through the key-hole of his study! On a previous occasion, we had made some feeble efforts to lay this spirit—to send it back to that dark abyss whence it emerged—but our humble labors, it seems, were lost, at least on Mr. Prescott. His apparition is as hard to drive away, and withal about as terrifying and shadowy as was Banquo's ghost. He seems greatly to court its company, and will not exorcise it, even with an *avaunt!* Foully has he been dealt with, and grossly misled, by that miscreant traitor and apostate, Llorente.* And it is really deplorable that a man of Mr. Prescott's liberal and enlightened mind, should have permitted his credulity to be thus sported with by such a wretch!

* We have detected a few inaccuracies not, however, of much moment. We will mention one. In a note (vol. i, p. 230), he alleges this testimony of a Spanish writer: "Cortes came into the world the same day that that infernal beast, the false heretic, Luther, went out of it," and he concludes from it, that, according to this writer, Cortes was born in 1483. Now this is the date, not of Luther's "going out of the world," which happened in 1546, but of his "coming into it." There is an error *somewhere*.

† Pp. xii, xiv.

* See the article on the Spanish Inquisition, in the August number, vol. ii, of this Magazine.

That this language is not too severe, will be anifest from the following extracts from the story of the conquest. Speaking of the hor-ble human sacrifices enjoined by the Aztec ligion, he says:

"Thus we find the same religion inculcating ssons of pure philanthropy on the one hand, id of merciless extermination, as we shall on see, on the other. The inconsistency ill not appear incredible to those who are miliar with the history of the Roman Ca-olic church in the early ages of the inquisi-on."*

According to him the Aztec priests, prepar-g their victims for the dreadful sacrifice and oating over their excruciating tortures, were it the inquisitors, or as he says in another ace,† the "Dominicans" of the new world!!

"It should be remarked, however, that such rtures were not the spontaneous suggestions cruelty, as with the North American In-ans; but were all religiously prescribed in e Aztec ritual, and doubtless were often in-cted with the same compunctious visitings hich a devout familiar of the holy office ight at times experience in executing its ern decrees."‡

In the course of his history he drags in this lious comparison by the heels, *usque ad nau-am;* and even seems greatly to prefer the man sacrifices of the Aztecs to those made the inquisition! Thus, to reconcile his aggerated theory of the Aztec civilization ith the practice of human sacrifices in Ana-uac, he says:

"One may, perhaps, better understand the nomaly, by reflecting on the condition of me of the most polished countries in Eu-pe, in the sixteenth century, after the estab-shment of the modern inquisition; an insti-tion which yearly destroyed its thousands, *a death more painful* than the Aztec sacri-es; which armed brother against brother, id setting its burning seal upon the lip, did ore to stay the march of improvement than ny other scheme ever devised by human cun-ing. . . . . The inquisition, on the other and, branded its victims with infamy in this orld, and consigned them to everlasting per-tion in the next."

To this precious rhapsody, he adds, with astonishing liberality:

"One detestable feature of the Aztec super-ition, however, sunk it far below the Chris-an (!). This was its cannibalism," &c.§

All this loud declamation against the Spanish inquisition, he generalizes in another place, by unequivocally ascribing the alleged cruelties of that tribunal, to the express doctrines of the Catholic church. Witness the spirit which breathes in the following sweeping assertion, to establish the truth of which he refers his readers, in a note, to his history of Ferdinand and Isabella!

"But it should be remembered that religious infidelity at this period, and till a much later, was regarded—no matter whether founded on ignorance or education, whether hereditary or acquired, heretical or pagan—as a sin to be punished with fire and faggot in this world, and eternal suffering in the next. This doctrine, monstrous as it is, was the creed of the Romish (!), in other words, of the Christian church,—the basis of the inquisition, and of those other species of religious persecution, which have stained the annals, at one time or other, of nearly every nation in Christendom."*

Such assertions deserve no comment, except that of just indignation or pity, that one who should have known better, has thought proper thus to travel out of his way, and to abandon the legitimate province of history, in order to be able foully to asperse the religious principles of the oldest and most numerous body of Christians on the face of the earth—of a body which was alone for fifteen hundred years in its championship of Christianity—of a body, without whose advocacy of Christian principles, and guardianship of the Bible, Mr. Prescott himself would not, in all probability, have at this day the little religion with which he is blessed! What, by all that is reasonable, had the Spanish inquisition to do with a history of the Spanish conquest? In the language of Moliére, we may ask:

"Que diable allait-il (*elle*) faire dans cette galere?"

Which may be rendered: "What, in the name of mischief, could have induced Mr. Prescott to drag in the Spanish inquisition to throw light on his history of the conquest?"

But the inquisition apart, what right had he deliberately to charge on the Catholic church the practice and advocacy of idolatry? Was this, too, necessary to the integrity of his history? It is true he advances this accusation with some qualification and apparent

* Vol. i, p. 71.
† Vol. i, p. 82.
‡ Ibid. p. 77.
§ Ibid. pp. 83, 84.

* Vol. ii, p. 30.

misgiving; yet he advances it roundly and boldly. Speaking of the use, by Catholics, of "material representations of divinity,"—which, by the way, are not half so common among Catholics, as he would seem to imagine,—he says:

"It is true such representations are used by him (the Catholic) only as incentives, not as the objects of worship. But this distinction is lost on the savage, who finds such forms of adoration too analogous to his own to impose any great violence on his feelings. It is only required of him to transfer his homage from the image of Quetzalcoatl, the benevolent deity who walked among men, to that of the Virgin or Redeemer; from the cross which he has worshipped as the emblem of the god of rain, to the same cross, the symbol of salvation."*

The bigotry of this passage is only surpassed by its absurdity. Is the Virgin, is the cross a divinity? Or was either ever held as such by any Catholic that ever breathed? And so the poor savages could not be taught the distinction between stocks and stones, and the Divinity "who dwelleth in light inaccessible!"

It would seem, in fact, that Mr. Prescott's natural acuteness wholly abandons him whenever he enters on the hallowed ground of religious discussion. Once he has set his foot within the sanctuary, he plays all manner of fantastic tricks, among which casting somersets—self-contradiction—is perhaps the most conspicuous.† Take the following passage as a specimen of this:

"It was not difficult to pass from the fasts and festivals of the one religion (the Aztec), to the fasts and festivals of the other (the Christian); to transfer their homage from the fantastic idols of their own creation, to the beautiful forms in sculpture and in painting, which decorated the Christian cathedral. It is true, they could have comprehended little of the dogmas of their new faith, and little, it may be, of its vital spirit. But if the philosopher may smile at the reflection, that conversion, under these circumstances, was one of form rather than of substance, the philanthropist will console himself by considering how much the cause of humanity and good morals must have gained by the substitution of these UNSULLIED rites, for the brutal abominations of the Aztecs."‡

* Vol. i, pp. 291, 292.

† Mr. Prescott does not seem to admit the soundness of Petit Jean's wise maxim in the "Plaideurs" of Racine: "O dame! On ne court pas deux lievres a la fois!" In the historic chase he often starts two or more hares at once! Hence his blunders and inconsistencies.

‡ Vol. iii, pp. 267, 268.

If Mr. Prescott's picture of the conversio of the Aztecs be faithful—which it is not—th "philosopher," one would think, should ra ther weep than "smile" over its sad want c reality. If, however, he belong to the schoc of Democritus, rather than of Heraclitus, an have smiles to throw away, he might bestov one of the merriest on Mr. Prescott himsel for his singular *consistency* in styling *unsullie* those rites which he had just said were *sullie* with the grossest and most stupid idolatry!

But the most singular instance of the bigotr of Mr. Prescott against every thing Catholic is yet to come. Who would ever have though that the Spanish renegade and apostate, th notable and *veracious* Blanco White—whos apostacy was so amply remunerated, if it wa not purchased by British gold—was a com petent authority for reference in the history c the conquest? Yet it is even so. Mr. Pres cott—the smooth and refined Mr. Prescott—actually alleges his authority, in a note, t confirm or illustrate the following preciou *morceau* in the text!

"But the doctrines (of Catholic Christian ity) were too abstruse to be comprehended a a glance by the rude intellect of a barbarian And Montezuma may have, perhaps, though it was not more monstrous to feed on the flesl of a fellow-creature, than *on that of the Creato himself.*" (!)*

The shocking grossness of this passage, i equalled only by its glaring impiety, borderin on blasphemy; and by the lamentable igno rance it displays! It is worthy only of thos carnal-minded Jews of Capharnaum, wh asked: "How can this man give us his flesl to eat?" (St. John vi, 53.) And so revoltin is it, in fact, that it has drawn down upon th author's head a severe and well merited re buke from one of the leading American re views.†

We might present many more extract breathing a similar spirit; but what we hav already furnished will suffice for the present and the subject may recur in the sequel. W would ask whether Mr. Prescott, with all thos gross and bitter prejudices, could have entere cordially into the feelings, and given prope explanations of the motives and conduct o men whose religion he so cordially hated

* Vol. ii, pp. 88, and *note*.

† The Democratic Review, Feb'y, 1844. Article o "Prescott's Conquest of Mexico."

like Diogenes, trampling with his muddy feet the costly carpets of Plato, he rebukes, with still greater bigotry,* the imputed bigotry of the Spaniards. Yet we will do him the justice to say that he has honestly "endeavored" to paint correctly the Spanish conquest, as well as the noble heroism of the men who accomplished it. And, considering his deep religious prejudices, he has succeeded much better in this than could have been anticipated.

Perhaps, in composing his history, he had also an eye to business, and cast a shrewd glance at the religious atmosphere breathed by those for whom it was written. Perhaps, too, he may have been under the impression that he could not hope to reach the elysium of popular favor, without first casting some crusts to the many-headed cerberus of religious prejudice! Many a modern writer thinks himself compelled to pay this unworthy tribute in passing—shall we be allowed the comparison, made with all due respect to old Charon and to printers' devils?—the Styx of the press. When will this unworthy trembling before the slighest breath of the *aura popularis* cease? When will authors of respectability be free from a thraldom as galling as it is degrading? Will the Moloch of religious bigotry continue to prove more insatiable than even the war-god of the Aztecs, fed on human victims?

But, as we have already intimated, in spite of the religious prejudice which so strongly swayed the bosom of Mr. Prescott, the greatness and magnificence of his theme inspired and carried him away. Cold and puritanical as his soul may have been, it could not resist the torrent of enthusiasm which bore away the conquerors on its bosom, any more than could the warlike Aztecs resist their strong arms, their good swords, and their iron will. Hence he kindles with his subject, enters heartily into its stirring scenes, and startling adventures, shares in the sufferings and triumphs of the conquerors, and, bating some gross insults to the religion which they prized more dearly than life, appreciates their lofty motives, and does them ample justice.

The annals of mankind, though they unfold many a scene which shows "how thin is the partition that divides romance from reality," yet tell of few such feats as the conquest of Mexico by the Spaniards. As our historian well remarks: "the whole story has the air of fable rather than of history! a legend of romance—a tale of the genii!"* He thus happily groups together the principal startling incidents of which it is made up, when viewed merely as a military achievement.

"That a handful of adventurers, indifferently armed and equipped, should have landed on the shores of a powerful empire, inhabited by a fierce and warlike race, and, in defiance of the reiterated prohibitions of its sovereign, have forced their way into the interior;—that they should have done this, without knowledge of the language and the land, without chart or compass to guide them, without any idea of the difficulties they were to encounter, totally uncertain whether the next step might bring them on a hostile nation or on a desert, feeling their way along in the dark, as it were;—that, though nearly overwhelmed by their first encounter with the inhabitants, they should still have pressed on to the capital of the empire, and, having reached it, thrown themselves unhesitatingly into the midst of their enemies;—that, so far from being daunted by the extraordinary spectacle there exhibited of power and civilization, they should have been but the more confirmed in their original design;—that they should have seized the monarch, have executed his ministers before the eyes of his subjects, and, when driven forth with ruin from the gates, have gathered their scattered wreck together, and, after a system of operations, pursued with consummate policy and daring, have succeeded in overturning the capital, and establishing their sway over the country; that all this should have been effected by a mere handful of indigent adventurers, is a fact little short of the miraculous,—too startling for the probabilities demanded by fiction, and without a parallel in the pages of history."†

The number of Spaniards who marched the first time against Mexico, fell short of four hundred.‡ Accompanying the expedition were about six thousand Tlascalans, and a few Cempoallans; and the whole force did not exceed seven thousand men, who were to fight against and to conquer the countless myriads of Montezuma! The Spaniards were compelled to fight their way to the capital inch by inch; and they had first to subdue, before they could avail themselves of the services of the intervening warlike tribes. Among

* The incident here alluded to is well known. Diogenes, soiling with his muddy feet the carpets of Plato, observed with a sneer: "*Calco fastum Platonis.*" Plato calmly replied: "*At majori fastu!*"

* Vol. iii, p. 215. † Ibid. p. 221, 222.
‡ Vol. ii, p. 69.

these, the most formidable were the fierce mountaineers—"the Swiss of Anahuac," as Mr. Prescott styles them; or rather the Spartans—the brave and independent Tlascalans; first the deadliest enemies, and then the most steadfast friends of the conquerors.

With this mere handful of ill-assorted troops, the Spaniards had to encounter, in his own capital, the dread Montezuma, a name terrible throughout Anahuac—a name which could summon in an instant millions of fierce warriors, prepared to do battle to the death, under his banner! They had to plant their standard in the very heart of Tenochtitlan—"the Venice of the Aztecs;" they had to uphold it there, against the myriads who, lashed into a wild fury by the battle cry of their great war-god, rushed to the onslaught, and made almost superhuman efforts to pull it down! Cut off from all communication with the main land, by the surrounding lakes and the opened sluices of the dikes—hemmed in by the hosts who were fiercely shouting for their blood, and clamoring for new human victims for their terrible Moloch—exhausted with fatigue, reeking with wounds, and almost expiring with hunger—they yet maintained with desperate bravery the unequal contest!

Driven from the capital amid the unutterable horrors of the *Noche Triste*, they gathered together the miserable wreck of their former army; and, after fighting their way back to the coast, contending at every step with hunger, with thirst, with snares laid for their destruction, with hostile armies sent out to cut off their retreat, doomed to destruction, though "fated not to die,"—they again, in nothing dismayed by their past sufferings, fought their way back to the capital, unmindful of danger, and regardless of the awful death on the fatal stone of sacrifice—a doom which stared them in the face, and which had already fallen to the lot of many among their comrades.

Montezuma was no more; but a greater than Montezuma sat on the imperial throne of the Aztecs. Young, active, persevering, fertile in resources, and determined rather to die with his people than to submit to the Spanish yoke, Guatamozin—the last of the Aztecs—was prepared to defend his capital to the last extremity; and his people, to a man, shared in the determination of their youthful sovereign. The superstitious awe which had seized them on the first appearance of the Spaniards, had now yielded to a deadly hatred of men whom past reverses had proved equally mortal with themselves. Now came the deadly strife, the fierce tug of war.

The result is known, and the story is soon told. After feats of daring and bravery which only Spanish chivalry could achieve,—after a siege, perhaps the most memorable in the annals of history,—after a series of desperate assaults, and equally desperate defences, almost without a parallel,—the iron purpose of the Spaniard won the day, and the banner of Castile floated in triumph from the loftiest pinnacle of the great temple of Tenochtitlan! But it floated over a city laid in ruins, and reeking with the blood of the slain! The Aztecs would have it so: they had fiercely resisted every offer of capitulation; they had determined to bury themselves under the ruins of their capital! Thus fell the proud "Venice of the Aztecs." But two years had elapsed since the Spaniards began their first march to Mexico, and already they had subdued an immense empire!!

However the hearts of the conquerors may have bled over the ruined palaces and fallen turrets of the capital; however they may have sympathized with the appalling sufferings of its people, yet the iron fate of war left them no alternative. The conquest, through the desperate resistance of the Aztecs, could have been effected with no less disastrous results. The city, however, rose from its ruins, as if by magic—the Spaniards soon made it more beautiful and magnificent than ever; they substituted the Christian church for the odious and blood-stained *Teocalli;* the cross for the gory statue of the war-god; and the pure and unbloody sacrifice of Christianity for the worse than brutal human sacrifices of the Aztec superstition. Thus, by almost supernatural exertions and sacrifices, was a vast barbaric empire subdued, and reclaimed to Christian civilization!

The actors in the stirring scenes of this great drama were all men of iron nerve and chivalrous daring. They all achieved feats of almost superhuman strength, and won imperishable laurels in this contest. From the common soldier, old Bernal Diaz,—who, to hear his own account, was one of the prime movers in every leading enterprise,—up to

e great captain himself, all distinguished emselves by a perseverance and a patient durance of toil and suffering which would ve done honor to the Spartans of Leonidas, the legions of Cæsar.

Among the leaders, there was Gonzalo de ndoral, the brilliant, the bold, the daring, e successful, the darling of the army and of s general, the soul of chivalry—the Tancred the expedition. There was the equally ring and successful, though less amiable and rupulous Alvarado, the future conqueror of uatemala, the *Tonatiuh*, or "child of the n," of the Aztecs—the Bohemond of the nquest. But peering far above them all, a ramid of strength, stands forth the colossal aracter of Hernando Cortes—the Godfrey Bouillon of the conquest. He was the ry man for the emergency. He was the dy as well as the soul of the enterprise: it as *his* work, in its origin, in its progress, in termination. *His* genius originated it, eated the means by which it might be ac-mplished, not only overcame, but turned to count, the seemingly insuperable obstacles hich interposed, watched over it in every try-g stage of its progress, and finally brought it a glorious consummation. Few men in an-ent or modern times, ever contended with ore difficulties, endured more hardships, ere more fertile in expedients, or triumphed ith means so slender and inadequate.

Once he had landed in Mexico, and con-ived the idea of conquering the empire, he rnt his fleet, thus cutting off all hope of re-eat, and leaving his men no alternative but conquer or to die. He then buckled on is good sword, and followed fearlessly, with is little army, the banner of the cross, which e had resolved to plant on the loftiest pinna-e of the city of Montezuma. On, on, with ie battle cry of "God and St. Iago!" No angers appal, no difficulties discourage him. abor, and toil, and hardships, and reverses, re his daily bread: his soul rises with obsta-les as the ship rises with the waves. A child f fortune, he seems to rise superior to for-ne; or rather, his genius transmutes mis-rtunes into good fortune.

When, after incredible toil and hazard, he as the golden prize already in his grasp, nd reposes quietly in the capital of Monte-uma, he learns that Narvaez had been sent with a formidable force to supersede him in the command, not a moment is lost; he marches with electric rapidity to meet his rival, surprises him in his camp, defeats his fresh and regular troops with one-fourth of their number, and almost without a struggle, takes them prisoners, wins their affections, incorporates them with his own army, and thereby doubles his own effective force. He finds that he cannot hope to take the capital without a fleet to command the surrounding lakes, and his genius creates a fleet, and has it transported across the mountains on the shoulders of men.

Olid, a subordinate chieftain rebels: Cortes leaves all his Mexican laurels behind him, and to chastise him, marches three thousand miles through the unexplored wilderness of Chiapa—through wood and marsh, over lake and river; making every obstacle bend to his iron will, checking the rising disaffection of his troops, reviving their drooping spirits, himself leading the way in every toil and hardship: nor does he give over the seemingly hopeless enterprise, but boldly pushes on, till he has attained his object. Perhaps, in all the annals of mankind, there is not to be found a parallel to this dreadful march to Honduras. It cost the great conqueror nearly as much time, and perhaps more hardship and danger than the conquest of the Mexican empire itself.

In one word, Cortes was ready to undertake any thing and every thing; and he seldom failed to accomplish whatever he undertook. He had the intuition of genius; his mind took in at a glance all the incidents and bearings of an enterprise, no matter how difficult or complicated it might be.*

We know of no exact parallel to his character, but he possessed traits in common with many great generals of antiquity. He moved and conquered with the electric rapidity of Pyrrhus, but he was more successful: he subdued a more warlike empire than Alexander, but he did not, like him, subsequently waste his energies in debauch: he had the courage, skill, and indomitable energy of

* Old Bernal Diaz makes the following *naive* and pious reflection on the exploits of the conquerors: "and, as I ponder on *our* exploits, I feel that it was not of ourselves that we performed them, but that it was the providence of God which guided us. Much food is there here for meditation!"—*Ap. Presc.* ii, 178.

Scipio Africanus, and, like him, he destroyed a great capital,—but, unlike Scipio, he caused this capital to rise again from its ashes more splendid than ever. He conquered with Cæsar, and with him, "he wrote his own commentaries,"* almost amidst the stirring scenes of the battle-field! He had the iron nerve and the fertile invention of Hannibal, and the same unconquerable energy in encountering difficulties; but he was much more fortunate than Hannibal. And it is remarkable that old Bernal Diaz compares him to the two generals last named.

"He preferred to be called 'Cortes' by us, to being called by any title; and with good reason, for the name of Cortes is as famous in our day, as was that of Cæsar among the Romans, or of Hannibal among the Carthagenians."†

We regret that our limits will not allow of copious extracts from the history of the conquest, setting forth the character of Cortes, to which Mr. Prescott does as ample justice as his religious prejudices would possibly permit. We can make room but for one or two.

"Indeed," he says, "the history of the conquest, as I have already had occasion to remark, is necessarily that of Cortes, who is, if I may so say, not merely the soul, but the body of the enterprise,—present everywhere in person, in the thick of the fight, or in the building of the works, with his sword or with his musket, sometimes leading his soldiers, and sometimes directing his little navy. The negotiations, intrigues, correspondence, are all conducted by him; and, like Cæsar, he wrote his own commentaries in the heat of the stirring scenes which form the subject of them."‡

"He was a knight errant in the literal sense of the word. Of all the band of adventurous cavaliers, whom Spain, in the sixteenth century, sent forth on the career of discovery and conquest, there was none more deeply filled with the spirit of romantic enterprise than Hernando Cortes. Dangers and difficulties, instead of deterring, seemed to have a charm in his eyes. They were necessary to rouse him to a full consciousness of his powers. He grappled with them at the outset, and, if I may so express myself, seemed to prefer to take his enterprises by the most difficult side! He conceived, at the first moment of his landing in Mexico (*doubtful*), the design of its conquest. When he saw the strength of its civilization, he was not turned from his purpose. When he was assailed by the superior force of Narvaez, he still persisted in it; and, when he was driven in ruin from the capital he still cherished his original idea. How successfully he carried it into execution, we have seen. After the few years of repose which succeeded the conquest, his adventurous spirit impelled him to that dreary march across the marshes of Chiapa; and, after another interval, to seek his fortunes on the stormy California gulf. When he found that no other continent remained for him to conquer, he made serious proposals to the emperor to equip a fleet at his own expense, with which he would sail to the Moluccas, and subdue the spice islands for the crown of Castile!"*

A convincing proof of the great interest which attaches to the personal history of Cortes, and an evidence, too, of the skill of Mr. Prescott as a historian, is found in the fact that the interest of his work does not flag after the description of the final siege and fall of Mexico. The brilliant De Solis had closed his history of the conquest with this last scene of the great drama; but Mr. Prescott, at the hazard of not sustaining his narrative, continues it after this event, and unfolds the various startling vicissitudes in the subsequent career of Cortes. And never was a biography more interesting, both in itself and in the manner in which it is treated. Few readers who have gone as far as the fall of Mexico, will refuse to accompany the author to the close of his volume; and many even will read with pleasure the valuable papers in the Appendix.

We cannot close this notice without attempting briefly to answer two questions which have been often asked respecting the conquest of Mexico.

1. Was the conquest justifiable?

2. Was it stained with unnecessary and wanton cruelty by the Spanish conquerors?

1. The principles by which we judge, in the abstract, of the right of conquest, are very abstruse and difficult to be ascertained with certainty. They lie back in the very foundations of society, and constitute the most delicate and difficult portions of international jurisprudence. Conquerors seldom reason; they act. They come up to Sheil's definition of an Irishman: "they act first and think afterwards." *Might* and *right* are not synonymous terms; but they have been too often viewed as such in the annals of conquest. We recollect once to have read on the barrel

* Cf. Prescott, iii, 352.
† Apud eundem, iii, 356.
‡ Ibid. 352.
* Ibid. 353, 354.

a canon the significant inscription: "*ultima
io regum*,"—the last reason of kings. This
ing is perhaps still more true of conquerors
n of kings.

The right of conquest involves a number of
y complicated questions; and the slight-
circumstance may change a whole case.
nce, perhaps, the best method of deciding
question, whether the Spanish conquest
s justifiable, will be to present a succinct
tement of the facts bearing on the case,
h such reflections interspersed, as the facts
y themselves suggest or warrant. We will
pt this method, and will state no fact which
not undoubted, and for which we will not
e the authority of Mr. Prescott himself;
ugh we shall be compelled to controvert
ne of his positions. And, unless we are
atly mistaken, it will clearly appear from
train of our remarks, that, if ever a con-
st was justifiable, that of Mexico by the
aniards was so.

Before the expedition of Cortes, the enter-
se of the Spaniards had already discovered
continent bordering on the gulf of Mexico,
it had been visited by two other adventu-
s, Cordova and Grijalva.

'Under this chivalrous spirit of enterprise,"
. Prescott tells us, "the progress of dis-
ery had extended, by the beginning of
arles the fifth's reign, from the bay of Hon-
as, along the winding shores of Darien, and
South American continent, to the Rio de
Plata. The mighty barrier of the isthmus
been climbed, and the Pacific descried by
ñez de Balboa, second only to Columbus
his valiant band of "ocean chivalry.'"*

Grijalva had not returned; but Cordova had,
his glowing accounts, quickened the zeal,
stimulated the enterprise of Velasquez, the
ernor of Cuba. He accordingly fitted out
expedition at the head of which he placed
rnando Cortes. The objects of this enter-
se were: to find Grijalva; to rescue six
ristians whom Cordova had reported as lin-
ing in captivity in Yucatan; and lastly and
efly, to extend the Spanish commerce with
natives. In the instructions given to Cor-
no allusion is made to a conquest of the
ntry, properly so called.

'But the great object of the expedition was
ter with the natives. In pursuing this,
cial care was to be taken that they should
receive no wrong, but be treated with kindness and humanity. Cortes was to bear in mind above all things that the object which the Spanish monarch had most at heart was the conversion of the Indians. He was to impress on them the grandeur and goodness of his royal master, to invite them 'to give in their allegiance to him, and to manifest it by regaling him with such comfortable presents of gold, pearls and precious stones, as, by showing their own good will, would secure his favor and protection.' He was to make an accurate survey of the coast, sounding its bays and inlets for the benefit of future navigators. He was to acquaint himself with the natural products of the country,"* &c.

The author adds, that the general tenor of the instructions given to Cortes "must be admitted to provide for the interests of science and humanity, as well as for those which had reference only to a commercial speculation."†

Armed with these humane and pacific instructions, Cortes landed in Mexico; nor did he violate either the spirit or the letter of them, until compelled to do so by the indomitable hostility of the Indians. They, and not he, struck the first blow; and his appeal to arms was a necessary measure of self-defence. The first battle occured at Tobasco; and Mr. Prescott speaks of the conduct of Cortes as follows.

"Before commencing hostilities, that 'he might act with entire regard to justice, and in obedience to the instructions of the royal counsel,' he first caused proclamation to be made through the interpreter, that he desired only a free passage for his men; and that he proposed to revive the friendly relations which had formerly subsisted between his countrymen and the natives. He assured them that if blood were spilt, the sin would lie on their heads and that resistance would be useless, since he was resolved at all hazards to take up his quarters that night in the town of Tobasco."‡

This proclamation was received by the Indians, "with shouts of defiance and a shower of arrows."§ This was a usual mode of procedure with Cortes, who was, *in no instance*, the aggressor—at least on his first march to Mexico, and until he had been hopelessly committed in the war of the conquest. Thus, ere he encountered the fierce Tlascalans,

"Cortes, when he had come within hearing, ordered the interpreter to proclaim that he had no hostile intentions, but wished to be allowed a passage through their country, which he had entered as a friend. This declaration he com-

* Vol. i, p. 217.

* Ibid. p. 248—9. † Ibid. ‡ Ibid. p. 278. § Ibid.

manded the royal notary, Godey, to record on the spot, that if blood were shed it might not be charged on the Spaniards."*

At Cempoalla, the capital of the Totonacs, he had already heard of the tyranny of Montezuma, and of the horrid human sacrifices practised by the Aztecs. The Cempoallan cacique had told him that Montezuma was "a stern prince, merciless in his exactions, and, in case of resistance, or any offence, sure to wreak his vengeance by carrying off their young men and maidens to be sacrificed to his deities. Cortes assured him, that he would never consent to such enormities; he had been sent by his sovereign to redress abuses and to punish the oppressor; and if the Totonacs would be true to him, he would enable them to throw off the detested yoke of the Aztecs."† He had already assured the cacique "that he had come to the Aztec shores to abolish the inhuman worship which prevailed there, and to introduce the knowledge of the true God."‡

The more nearly the Spaniards approached the Aztec capital, the more were their souls harrowed by the spectacles which every where met their eyes, revealing both the execrable tyranny of Montezuma, and the awful extent to which was carried the practice of human sacrifices among the Aztecs. In one place—called *Cocotlan* by Bernal Diaz—"there were thirteen *teo callis* (temples); . . . and in the suburbs they had seen a receptacle, in which, according to Bernal Diaz, were stored a hundred thousand skulls of human victims, all piled and ranged in order! He reports the number as one ascertained by counting them himself."§ The author adds: "The Spaniards were destined to become familiar with this appalling spectacle as they approached nearer to the Aztec capital."‖

These human sacrifices, of which many among the Spaniards themselves were destined subsequently to become the victims,¶ had been long carried to a frightful extent in Anahuac. It was an essential part of the Aztec religion, and was yearly on the increase. On this subject Mr. Prescott says:

"The amount of victims immolated on its accursed altars would stagger the faith of the least scrupulous believer. Scarcely any au thor pretends to estimate the yearly sacrific throughout the empire at less than twent thousand, and some carry the number as hig as fifty. On great occasions, as the coronatio of a king, or the consecration of a temple, th number becomes still more appalling. At th dedication of the great temple of Huitzilopo chli, in 1486, the prisoners, who for som years had been reserved for the purpose, wer drawn from all quarters of the capital. The were ranged in files, forming a processio nearly two miles long. The ceremony con sumed several days, and seventy thousan captives are said to have perished at the shrin of this terrible deity!"*

Again:

"One fact may be considered certain. was customary to preserve the skulls of the s crificed, in buildings appropriated to the pu pose. The companions of Cortes counte one hundred and thirty-six thousand in one these edifices. . . . Indeed the great object war with the Aztecs was quite as much gather victims for their sacrifices, as to exten their empire. Hence it was that an enem was never slain in battle, if there were a chanc to take him alive. To this circumstance th Spaniards repeatedly owed their own prese vation. When Montezuma was asked, 'wh he had suffered the republic of Tlascala maintain her independence on his borders,' h replied, 'that she might furnish him with vic tims for his gods.'"†

Such then was the tyranny, and such wer the horrible abominations prevalent among th Aztecs! Could the Spaniards, could Corte look on those scenes unmoved? Could he a a Spanish chevalier of lofty bearing leave a those wrongs unredressed? Could he resi the cry of the fettered slave who implored h aid in breaking his bonds, and asserting hi freedom from an odious tyranny which wa crushing him in the dust? Could he as knight of the cross suffer the temples an longer to be besmeared with human gore, o the smoke of the horrid sacrifice any longer t ascend from wreaking human victims? Coul he, when he had the power to prevent it, per mit the most sacred laws of society and o humanity to be thus openly and frightfull

* Ibid. p. 426. †Ibid. p. 346. ‡ Ibid. p. 445.
§ Ibid. p. 399. ‖ Ibid. pp. 399—400.
¶ See Prescott, volume iii, pp. 152—3, for a graphic description of the dreadful sacrifice of the Spaniards on the summit of the great *teocalli* of Mexico.

* Introduction, pp. 79, 80.
† Ibid. pp. 81—2. For a lively picture of the man ner in which the revolting sacrifice was performed see ibid. p. 75, *et seq.* For the appalling spectacl which met the eyes of the conquerors when they fir visited the Aztec temples of Mexico, see volume ii, p 152. Old Bernal Diaz testifies, that those "hells smelled more strongly than the worst charnel houses Castile!

mpled on, under his very eyes? Could he, one word, as a true knight, sworn to re-ess grievances, to protect the weak, and to sert the right, do otherwise than he actually l?

He had come to Mexico with pacific in-ntions; he had not been the aggressor; he as drawn into the war against his own will; circumstances beyond his control, he was bsequently hurried into it more and more eply: at every step of his progress, he saw w grievances to redress, new abominations suppress; the oppressed nations of Anahuac udly called on him for protection against an human despot, who was grinding them down ith exactions, and snatching away, for the rrid sacrifice, their sons and their daughters: the midst of all these stirring scenes, the earts of both himself and his companions arms, beat high with the chivalrous feelings hich had lingered longer in Spain than in ny other country—could he, we repeat it, nder all these circumstances, have acted herwise than he did?

Was he, in the first moment of danger, rough an over-nice point of honor, or a too elicate sense of the Aztec rights, to turn his ack on men, who themselves respected the ghts of neither God nor man—insulting the rmer with human sacrifices, and trampling ystematically on the dearest rights of the lat-r? Had he thus ingloriously fled, he would ot have been a true Castilian chevalier, nor a ithful knight of the cross! But Providence ad entrusted to him a higher mission, and ell and fully did he fulfil it. Wherever his rms were victorious, the fetters of the crouch-ng slave were stricken off, and the trembling aptive, reserved for the sacrifice, escaped from is horrid cage!* Wherever he went he was ne protector of the weak, and the scourge of ne oppressor. Nor did he desist, until the rone of the haughty Aztec was laid in the ust; until his temples were purified from the bominations of human victims, and dedicated the true God in a purer worship!

According to the principles of natural rea-on, and the authority of Montesquieu, Gro-us,† Puffendorf, and most writers on inter-national law, human sacrifices alone generally practiced among a people would justify their subjugation by another, in case they would not consent, on being properly appealed to, to abolish of themselves the abominable custom. If war may be lawfully declared for the flagrant violations of the rights of property, is it not, *a fortiori*, lawful, when it is waged to protect from the most barbarous death hundreds of thousands of human beings? If by the universally received principles of international law, war may be waged to abolish the slave trade, can it not, *a fortiori*, be declared for the object just referred to? Mr. Prescott, in fact, does not dissent from these views, however he may seek to conceal or to qualify his opinion. Take this passage as an evidence: he is speaking of the Aztec sacrifices:

"Men became familiar with scenes of horror and the most loathsome abominations. Women and children—the whole nation became familiar with, and assisted at them. The heart was hardened, the manners were made ferocious, the feeble light of civilization, transmitted from a milder race, was growing fainter and fainter, as thousands and thousands of miserable victims, throughout the empire were yearly fattened in its cages, sacrificed on its altars, dressed and served at its banquets! The whole land was converted into a vast human shambles! The empire of the Aztecs did not fall before its time!"*

Then follows this singular passage:

"Whether these unparalleled outrages furnish a sufficient plea to the Spaniards for their invasion, whether with the Protestant, we are content to find a reward for it in the natural rights and demands of civilization, or, with the Roman Catholic, in the good pleasure of the pope (!),—on the one or the other of which grounds, the conquests by most Christian nations in the east and west have been defended—it is unnecessary to discuss, as it has already been considered in a former chapter."†

One would have thought, had not Mr. Prescott intimated the contrary, that Protestants had not monopolized all the common sense of the world; and that Roman Catholics could claim an equal right with them to defend their conquests by an appeal "to the natural rights and demands of civilization." We boldly deny the truth of the assertion, that any Catholic power ever rested the defence of its conquests, "in the good pleasure of the pope;" and the authorities to which Mr. Prescott refers for proof of this, "in a former chapter," do

*Cf. Prescott, vol. ii, p. 38.

†See his authority quoted in an able review of Mayr's Mexico, in the March number of this Magazine.

* Vol. iii, p. 117. † Ibid.

not establish it any more than a long note appended to this same chapter, establishes the immaculateness of the Puritans who colonized New England.

This will clearly appear from a very brief examination of Mr. Prescott's curious opinion of the theory of the right of conquest maintained by Catholics. After having asserted, without any sufficient evidence, that the holy see claimed a right to all pagan lands, he adds:

"Thus Alexander VI generously granted a large portion of the western hemisphere to the Spaniards, and of the eastern to the Portuguese. These lofty pretensions of the successors of the humble fisherman of Galilee, far from being nominal, were acknowledged and appealed to as conclusive in controversies between nations."*

This last fact solves the whole problem. The Catholic powers of Europe, fearing to come into collision in the rapid progress of their discoveries, appealed, by mutual consent, to the common father of the faithful, as a freely chosen arbitrator, to mark out the limits of their prospective territories. The popes, feeling that their powerful mediation might prevent war and bloodshed, as freely acceded to the proposal. The result proved their wisdom and forecast. The treaty of Tordesillas between the Spanish and Portuguese governments, proceeding on the basis of this papal partition, settled, without a drop of blood, a controversy which otherwise might have involved both governments in a dreadful war.†

That this is the true view of the whole matter, appears still more clearly from Mr. Prescott's own admission—singularly inconsistent with his previous random assertions. He says:‡

"It should be remarked that, whatever difference of opinion existed between the Roman Catholic—or rather the Spanish and Portuguese nations—and the rest of Europe, in relation to the true foundation of their titles in a moral view, they have *always* been content in their controversies with one another, to rest them *exclusively* on priority of discovery."

And in proof of this, he quotes Vattel and Chancellor Kent. Thus it is manifest from our author's own showing, that his assertion concerning the Catholic nation's resting their titles "in the good pleasure of the pope," is all a fallacy—a mere

* Ibid. vol. ii, p. 31. † Cf. Prescott, ibid. *note.*
‡ Ibid. p. 32, *note.*

insipid crust thrown to the Cerberus o bigotry!

We have a word to bestow, *en passant*, o our old friends, the good Puritans of Nev England, whom Mr. Prescott draws into th discussion on the right of conquest. He ad mits "that King James' patent asserted right as absolute nearly as those claimed by the Ro man see."* But the good Puritans of Nev England did not rest their claims on this pat ent—not they! Nor did they rest them on th general arguments alleged by other Protes ants,† drawn from the design of God that th l. of the earth should be extensively cultiva ted, or from the wants of an ever-expandin civilization. They were far too enlightened t maintain their titles under any such flims pretexts! "On the contrary," our author tell us, "they established their title to the soil b *fair* purchase of the aborigines; thus formin an honorable contrast to the policy pursued b too many of the settlers on the American con tinent."‡

All that this fine picture needs is fidelity o outline, and truth of coloring. In bargaining the aborigines of North America were n match for the shrewd Puritans; especially, a was often the case, after the heads of the for mer had been excited "by copious draughts o rum!" They often sold their territory for mere trifle: sometimes, as in the case of th Pequods of Connecticut, their soil was seize on by reckless violence. The good Puritan were too often wont to treat them as Amalecites who were to be driven without mercy fror their new Chanaan!

If there be any truth in history, it is certai that the Puritans were in the habit of firs cheating, then of goading into war, next o driving into the wilderness or selling into bon dage, and lastly, if other means failed, of ex terminating the poor Indian tribes of Nev England! The preachers often accompanie these expeditions of extermination, marchin at the head of the troops, and with the "godl Stone," pouring forth long prayers for the suc cess of their arms!§

Did Mr. Prescott forget that the Puritans ex terminated or drove into the wilderness all th

* Ibid. † Ibid.
‡ Cf. Bancroft *passim*. See his testimonies on thi subject accumulated in a review of Mr. Webster's Bun ker Hill speech, published in the Catholic Cabinet o St. Louis for October, 1843. § Ibid.

ce flourishing tribes of New England—the kanokets, the Naragansetts, the Pequods? d he forget the treacherous manner in which y requited the generous hospitality of old ıssasoit—who had first sheltered them in his gwam—by selling the only heir of his house o bondage under the burning sand of Ber-ıdas? Did he forget the long continued and d-blooded and systematic cruelty, with which y successively swept from the face of the th most of the original occupants of the soil? d he forget that they did little or nothing for ir religious culture? Could he, a New glander, have wholly forgotten all these ngs, to say nothing of the blue laws and the rning of witches? If he did not, why hold his forefathers as such paragons of perfec-n, and models for imitation? The *fairness* the Puritans, forsooth!

2. This naturally leads us to the second estion: "Did the Spaniards stain their con-est of Mexico with wanton and unnecessary ıelty?"

Mr. Prescott's own authority warrants us answer emphatically in the negative. Our ıits will not allow us to dwell at any great gth on this question: nor is it necessary to so. The subject will probably recur in our xt article on Mr. Prescott's work; in which mean to speak of the religious point of w of the conquest, and besides, the case is very plain one, and though complicated in details, is yet easily made out. Never was ere, in the whole history of mankind, a nquest which was effected with less cruelty bloodshed. Never was there one which ıs conducted with more moderation and dis-etion, even in the heat of the most stirring enes. Never was there one stained with ver crimes, or in which more effectual means ere adopted to check violence and to stay ıelty.

All this can be easily established by incon-ıtable evidence. We have already seen how ımane was the spirit breathed by the instruc-ns furnished to Cortes by Velasquez. Mr. escott is our witness that Cortes faithfully pt those instructions, at least until he had ached Cholula, on his way to the Aztec capi-l.

"The present expedition, up to the period its history at which we are now arrived, had en probably stained with fewer of such acts (of violence), than almost any similar enterprise of the Spanish discoverers in the new world. Throughout the campaign, Cortes had prohibited all wanton injuries to the natives, and had punished the perpetrators of them with exemplary severity. He had been faithful to his friends, and with perhaps a single exception, not unmerciful to his foes."*

What this single exception is, we are at a loss to guess, unless the historian refers to his having had the hands of the Tlascalan spies cut off, and his having sent them to their countrymen in this mutilated condition. But this severity, shocking as it may appear to our present delicacy, was really an act of mercy to the fierce Tlascalans, whose souls were thus stricken with a terror that induced them to close the war, and thereby to stop the effusion of blood: it was such even to the spies themselves whom the international law of all nations would have consigned, and would even now consign to the gallows. Was Washington inhumane because he persisted in having Major André hung, though this brave man urgently entreated, as a last request, that he might be permitted to die the death of a soldier?

We do not mean to say that all the deeds of the conquerors are wholly defensible, or that they never perpetrated acts of cruelty unwarranted by the trying circumstances in which they were placed. But we do assert that when all those circumstances are duly and impartially weighed, there was less of wanton cruelty than in any similar expedition for conquest recorded in history. The actions of men struggling to win an empire, and placed in daily and hourly peril of their lives, with treachery often lurking in their own camp, and snares encompassing them from without, are not surely to be judged of by the rules of every day life. Rightly to appreciate them, we must divest ourselves of the present, transport ourselves back to their own times, and intermingle with them in all the stirring scenes of their great drama. Judging the conquerors by this equitable standard, we will find that they were guilty of fewer acts of violence than many refined nations of even this *enlightened* age, placed under similar circumstances. The bloody deeds of the conquerors almost disappear when put in comparison with the cruel-

* Vol. ii, p. 33.

ties perpetrated by the *enlightened* English at the storming of Badajoz,* and in other passages of the Peninsular war; to say nothing of the other multiplied horrors of the wars which lately desolated Europe.

The wanton cruelties perpetrated by some of the Spanish commanders, were severely rebuked by Cortes. Thus the cold-blooded massacre of the Mexicans, ordered by Alvarado, in the absence of Cortes from the capital, was strongly censured by him on his return, however Alvarado sought to justify it by motives of alarm and of expediency. Speaking of this incident, Mr. Prescott says:

"When Alvarado had concluded his answers to the several interrogatories of Cortes, the brow of the latter darkened as he said to his lieutenant: 'You have done badly. You have been false to your trust. Your conduct has been that of a madman.' And, turning abruptly on his heel, he left him in undisguised displeasure."†

There is scarcely a deed of cruelty ascribed to the Spaniards which had not its justifying or at least its palliating circumstances. Thus the massacre at Cholula, ordered by Cortes, was viewed by him as a necessary measure of self-defence, under circumstances of imminent peril to the very existence of the Spaniards. They had entered the city as friends; they had been received as friends; they had conducted themselves as friends. While every external appearance indicated friendship on the part of the Cholulans, and promised security to their guests, a foul conspiracy was detected, which aimed at nothing less than the extermination of the whole Spanish army! Thus betrayed by men wearing the mask of friendship, Cortes determined to strike the first blow as the *only* means his genius could suggest to avert the threatened destruction. And though, reposing in the security of our closet, we may be inclined to think that he exceeded the just measure of legitimate defence, yet the result justified his forecast.‡

Another matter of crimination against Cortes is the seizure of Montezuma in his own capital, while the emperor was regaling him and his army with princely hospitality. But the truth and honesty of the Aztec emperor were strongly suspected; and his previous conduct had rendered those suspicions doubly strong.* The Spaniards too were in a most critical situation in the midst of hostile myriads, who awaited only the beck of Montezuma to pounce on them, and to destroy them, or lead them to the fatal stone of sacrifice. In this emergency, their only security lay in possessing themselves of the person of Montezuma, and in using his influence to subdue the city without shedding a drop of blood. It was a bold stroke, worthy the genius and daring of Cortes; and, as a matter of expediency, and even, in a certain sense, of humanity, it was a master-stroke of policy. Mr. Prescott himself, though he follows the most unfavorable accounts of the transaction, yet pronounces this equitable opinion:

"To view the matter differently, we must take the position of the conquerors, and assume with them the original right of conquest. Regarded from this point of view, many difficulties vanish. If conquest was a duty, every thing necessary to effect it was right also. Right and expedient became convertible terms. And it can hardly be denied that the capture of the monarch was expedient, if the Spaniards would maintain their hold on the empire."†

It is scarcely pretended that after his seizure, Montezuma was treated with wanton inhumanity by the Spaniards. Their treatment of the brave and patriotic Guatamozin, after the fall of Mexico, is not so easily defended. But if he was submitted to the torture, it is but justice to Cortes to say that he opposed it with all his might, and only yielded to the clamor of his soldiers supported by the royal treasurer, Alderete.‡ The soldiers were flushed with victory, and goaded into madness by disappointment in not finding the expected booty, which, it was alleged, Guatamozin had concealed, they openly threatened insurrection: and it is difficult to say how far the influence even of Cortes could have checked or stayed their violence. Indeed when we reflect with how motley and reckless a soldiery he had to deal, we are lost in amazement at the success of his efforts to enforce subordination, and to prevent deeds of wanton cruelty.

If Guatamozin was subsequently executed by Cortes, we should bear in mind that the deed was done amidst the awful scenes of that dreadful march to Honduras: and we could

* Mr. Prescott admits this, vol. ii, p. 34.
† Vol. ii, p. 289. ‡ Cf. Ibid. pp. 33—35.

* Mr. Prescott admits as much, vol. ii, p. 159.
† Vol. ii, p. 176. ‡ Cf. Prescott, iii, 236, *et seq.*

ardon almost every thing to a man exhausted y so many hardships, and beset with so many angers. Any one who will read attentively Ir. Prescott's account of the whole transac- on, must come to the conclusion, that Cortes iewed it as a necessary measure of security the *lives* of himself and followers. His ndian auxiliaries vastly outnumbered his own oops: amid those dreary marshes of Chiapa, ie Spaniards were wholly in the power of ieir Aztec allies: these threatened to pounce pon them in their exhausted condition, and rear again the fallen banner of Guatamozin. conspiracy for this purpose was organized, which the fallen emperor was believed to e the ringleader. Under these trying circum- ances, Cortes had no alternative.*

Finally, if much blood was shed, and many orrors enacted during the final siege and cap- re of Mexico, it was not so much the fault the Spaniards as of the circumstances of the ege itself. The Spaniards would fain have ken the capital without shedding a drop of ood; but the obstinate spirit of the Aztecs sisted all their repeated overtures for a capitu- tion. We cannot better vindicate the con- ict of the conquerors in this emergency than the language of Mr. Prescott.

"Their swords were rarely stained with ood, unless it was indispensable to the suc- ss of their enterprise. Even in the last ege of the capital, the sufferings of the Az- cs, terrible as they were, do not imply any nusual cruelty in the victors: they were not reater than those inflicted on their own coun- ymen at home, in many a memorable in- ance, by the most polished nations, not erely of ancient times, but of our own. hey were the inevitable consequences which llow from war, when, instead of being con- ned to its own legitimate field, it is brought ome to the hearth-stone, to the peaceful mmunity of the city,—its burghers untrained arms, its women and children yet more de- nceless. In the present instance, indeed, the fferings of the besieged were in a great de- ee to be charged on themselves—on their triotic but desperate self-devotion. It was t the desire, as it was not certainly the in- rest, of the Spaniards to destroy the capital its inhabitants. When any of these fell to their hands, they were kindly entertained, eir wants supplied, and every means taken infuse into them a spirit of conciliation; and is too, it should be remembered, in spite of e dreadful doom to which they consigned their Christian captives. The gates of a fair capitulation were kept open, though unavail- ingly, to the last hour.

"The right of conquest necessarily implies that of using whatever force may be necessary for overcoming resistance to the assertion of that right. For the Spaniards to have done otherwise than they did, would have been to abandon the siege, and with it the conquest of the country. To have suffered the inhabitants, with their high-spirited monarch to escape, would but have prolonged the miseries of war, by transferring it to another and more inacces- sible quarter. They literally, as far as the suc- cess of the expedition was concerned, had no choice. If our indignation is struck with the amount of suffering in this, and in similar scenes of the conquest, it should be borne in mind, that it is a natural result of the great masses of men engaged in the conflict."*

In conclusion, we would beg the impartial reader to compare for a moment the Spanish conquest of Mexico with the English conquest of India; and the Spanish Hernando Cortes with the English Lord Clive. How immacu- late do even the darkest deeds of the Spanish conquerors appear when placed by the side of those done by the *enlightened* English of the eighteenth century in India? For drops of blood shed by the Spaniards, the English shed gallons; for tens, on whom the Spaniards in- flicted suffering, the English inflicted it on thousands! The horrors of the Spanish con- quest were transient; they were speedily for- gotten in the blessings of the new civilization of which the conquerors were the harbingers: the horrors of the English conquest yet abide, increased a hundred fold; the tens of millions of enslaved and crushed victims yet send forth their notes of wailing under English tyranny! The dreadful horrors recently enacted in Af- ghanistan and Schinde are but links in the chain of a systematic cruelty and oppression which has continued, with little intermission, since the first moment of the conquest—or for the last eighty years! Lastly, the Spaniards abolished the horrid human sacrifices of the Aztecs, and indoctrinated them in Christianity: the English bowed down the bodies, but cared little for the souls of their victims; and the car of Juggurnaut yet crushes its hundreds of fa- natical worshippers!

And then how does the character of Lord Clive compare or rather contrast with that of Hernando Cortes! Bold, daring, gifted, and

* Cf. Ibid. p. 285, *et seq.*

* Vol. iii, pp. 218, 219.

successful like Cortes, Clive had not a particle of his chivalry, nor of his moral principle. As a warrior too he was vastly inferior. He had not the same difficulties to contend with, nor the same fierce and warlike tribes to encounter. Though assisted with fire-arms, the soft and effeminate Bengalee was not to be put in comparison with the fierce Aztec, and the warlike Tlascalan. Finally, Cortes was an honorable and high-minded cavalier, whose nature *could not* stoop to meanness; Clive was an intriguer, a hypocrite, a forger!* The two names of Lord Clive and Hernando Cortes should n be breathed together, nor written on the sam page, any more than those of Warren Has ings and the very worst of the Spanish vic roys that ever ruled in the Mexican capita

M. J. S.

* We would ask those who might be disposed to think these epithets unwarrantable or too strong, to read Macaulay's review of "Malcolm's Life of Clive." We can present only the following brief extrac "Accordingly this man, in all the other parts of h life an honorable English gentleman and soldier, w no sooner matched against an Indian intriguer than I became himself an Indian intriguer; and descende without scruple to falsehood, to hypocritical caresse to the substitution of documents, and to counterfeiti of hands!" Macaulay's Miscellanies, 8vo. p. 32 Carey & Hart, Philadelphia, 1843. Read the enti review, as also the article on Warren Hastings, ibi p. 460, *et seq.*

D'AUBIGNE'S HISTORY REVIEWED.

D'Aubigné's History of the Great Reformation in Germany and Switzerland Reviewed; or the Reformation in Germany examined in its Instruments, Causes, and Manner, and in its influence on Religion, Government, Literature and General Civilization. By M. J. Spalding, D. D. Baltimore: John Murphy. 12mo. pp. 379.

THE history of the Christian religion is the grand evidence of its divinity and of its claim to the veneration and obedience of mankind. If we could not trace the existence of the church, through the numberless changes of the past, up to the period when her heavenly Founder held the multitudes in breathless admiration at the sublimity of his teachings, and forced their intellects into submission at the contemplation of the miracles which he wrought—if we could not view, amid the constant revolutions of time, the accomplishment of Christ's promise, that the society founded by him would subsist and weather the fiercest storms of human vicissitude, we would possess no sufficient grounds of adherence to any form of Christianity. The witness to testify that this religion came from above, as well as to link the present with the past, and to show that we now believe and practise what was inculcated by the author of the Christian faith, would be wanting, and the mind of man coul discover no possible means of arriving at th knowledge of revelation. It is history, there fore, that is, the tradition of mankind, tha furnishes the motives of credibility, by whic we are led to acknowledge the authentic estab lishment and the constant perpetuation of th faith which we hold. But if this historica evidence is the mirror which reflects the ligh of truth over the church at large, it is equally the criterion and the safeguard of orthodox for every portion of the church, and for every individual who belongs to it. The history o the Christian church, as far as its doctrines are concerned, consists in one solitary declaration that they are now what they were yesterday and what they have been in every age since they were originally promulgated. Hence i is plain that any man, or any body of men pretending to Christian orthodoxy, must be identified with the history of the Christian church. If history attests that they have formed one society in doctrine, and worship with the great body of believers, then are they to be looked upon as a portion of the original church established by Christ; if, on the other hand, the testimony of history is against them; if it shows, at any particular period, that they broke off their connexion with the universal church, that they commenced the

ssemination of new doctrines, it places the amp of novelty, and consequently of error on ıe system which they proclaim. The church f Christ was not to change in doctrine; it ras to subsist always as originally constituted. 'he very idea, then, of reforming the church f Christ in doctrine, is false and anti-christian; ecause it supposes that the church, against rhich he promised that the gates of hell should ever prevail, has been overcome by the as-aults of her enemies; it supposes that there ras a period when the mission of those who rere the ordinary heralds of truth had failed, nd consequently that the pledge of Jesus hrist, to be with the apostles and their suc-essors to the end of time, had been with-rawn.

By this single, but infallible criterion may ll the dogmatizers of ancient and modern imes be tested. The church existing under . visible form, a body consisting of the pas-ors and of the faithful under their charge, rofessing one doctrine, one worship, under he same external polity, this church has suf-ered no interruption since the days of the postles; it began in Jerusalem and gradually welled its numbers, and has been diffused ver the whole earth; this church has in every ge been the living and subsisting type, or ather embodiment of the doctrines and wor-hip originally delivered by the Son of God; t forms at all times the rule by which the reli-ious sentiments and practices of a Christian re to be governed, because, to depart from his standard, would be deviating from the ourse marked out by the divine Founder of Christianity. For this reason, St. Paul de-lared to his disciples in the very first days of religion, that "if even an angel from heaven were to announce a gospel different from that which they had learned from him, he should pass unheeded," and the earliest and most illus-rious champions of the Christian faith held the same language, which has been re-echoed from their time to the present day. They knew no other mark of orthodoxy than com-munion with the universal church. They continually urged upon the people the neces-sity of unity, and of a unity growing out of submission to the lawfully constituted pastors of the church. That the faithful were to be united with their bishop, and the bishop with the other members of the hierarchy, was the great characteristic of the society founded by Christ, and whoever did not possess this badge of union was looked upon as an alien, as a stranger to the one fold under one shepherd. From the very origin of Christianity, there arose false prophets, men who abounded in their own sense, and who refused to captivate their minds under the obedience of that truth which was promulgated by the apostles; but the evidence of their heterodoxy was their separation from the society governed by the apostles; and this test of error continued to be applied by the chief pastors who succeeded the original propagators of the gospel, and has always served to unmask the illegitimate pretensions of such as have placed themselves in opposition to the church of God.

Among the ecclesiastical writers of anti-quity, no one perhaps more cogently pressed this argument against the sectaries of the time, than Tertullian. His language to those men was the following: "Whence do you come? Who authorized you to teach the people? Where are the credentials of your mission? Show your connexion with the duly appointed pastors; show that you have received the character and the mission of apostles, and you will be entitled to a hearing; but without these evidences, your declarations can have no weight whatever, being founded only on your private authority, and not on the words of Christ." Such too has been in every age the method of discriminating truth from error. When Arius, in the fourth century, ventured to assert that Christ was not God, equal to the Father, his doctrine was reprobated, because it was at variance with that of the great body of Christians, and his error was condemned in the first general council, held at Nice, in the year 325. When Macedonius subsequently denied the divinity of the Holy Ghost, his novelty was anathematized in the same way at the council of Constantinople in 381. So also were the errors of Nestorius and Eutyches rejected in the fifth century, and in every age the same test was applied for the purpose of separating the chaff from the wheat, of draw-ing the line between the deposite of revealed truth which had been transmitted from the days of the apostles, and the spurious doc-trines of men. And when Luther arose, as the proclaimer of a new religion, was he not met with the same protest on the part of the

Christian world? He trembled, as he assures us, in at first standing alone in the work of reformation: an admission which is at once a victorious refutation of his opinions, because, as we have shown, there could not be a more unequivocal mark and exposure of shipwreck in the faith, than to differ with the universal church.

The religious revolution of the sixteenth century might therefore be divested of all claim to favorable regard, by a simple reference to the historical fact, that Luther, at the commencement of his dogmatizing career, stood alone in opposition to the whole Christian world. But this view of the subject is most scrupulously avoided by certain admirers of the reformation, for reasons which are easily conjectured. It would necessarily lead to the immediate condemnation of the acts by which it was effected. To defend these acts of the original reformers, other principles must be supposed, and hence Mr. D'Aubigné, with his fellow-laborers in the same cause, has not hesitated to proclaim that

"'The church was in the beginning a community of brethren. All its members were taught of God; and each possessed the liberty of drawing for himself from the fountain of life.'*—Again: 'as soon as salvation was taken out of the hands of God, it fell into the hands of the priests. The latter put themselves in the place of the Lord; and the souls of men, thirsting for pardon, were no longer taught to look to heaven, but to the church, and especially to its pretended head.'"

Hence Christianity had declined, and the church in direct opposition to the promises of Christ had become almost extinct, according to Mr. D'Aubigné, "retiring into the lonely sanctuary of a few solitary souls." From an hypothesis of this nature, that the whole church was corrupt, and buried in superstition, it follows as a matter of course that it had vast need of reformation, and hence the task of the Genevan historian to show, that they who undertook or rather who at the present day are said to have undertaken this godly work of remodelling the church of Christ, were commissioned to do so by divine authority, and that their labors and the success which crowned their efforts, were marked by the seal of heaven's approbation. This is the grand delusion which swayed the mind of Mr. D'Aubigné in the composition of his h tory, and it is the idea which forms one of t first elements of knowledge in a Protesta education. Luther is believed to have be an extraordinary personage, raised up by th Almighty, in his own good time, to enlighte the world on the subject of religion. He represented as a man far above his age mind, in virtue, and in knowledge; as th discoverer of the Bible, which had been throw aside and lost for centuries, amid the dust an rubbish of the conventual libraries, in the da ages! In a word, it is coolly asserted that th reformers were other apostles, and that the re formation was "the re-appearance of Christian ity" in a benighted world; that it not onl brought back the religious doctrines of Chris to the original purity in which they had eman ated from his sacred lips, but unyoked th mind of man, broke the fetters which had en slaved it under the dominion of authority an the consequent evils of ignorance and super stition, and allowed it to roam at large in th enjoyment of its intellectual privileges, and t advance untrammelled in the paths of science and in the knowledge of all that is essential t the liberty and happiness of society.

Fortunately for truth, her divine Author ha arrayed her in an armor which is capable o resisting error in its most insidious form, and her advocates fear not to pursue their oppo nents into the very last entrenchments. Were it even conceded to the admirers of the reformation that the church did need purification in the sixteenth century, they would gain nothing by this supposition, because it would be still true, that they who gave rise to the religious revolution of that period were not authorized by the Almighty to produce the change which then took place, and that the work which they effected was not sanctioned by him. It is admitted, indeed, on all hands, that in the age of which we speak, abuses existed which demanded the attention of the church, and it is certain that abuses will always be witnessed in the church to the end of time. As Mr. Spalding observes, p. 77,

"Christ himself foresaw and foretold that scandals would come; and contented himself with pronouncing a 'wo on that man by whom the scandal cometh' (Math. xviii, 7.) In his kingdom, there was to be cockle, as well as the good wheat, and he willed 'that both should grow until the harvest' (Ibid. xiii, 30)

* Vol. i, p. 17.—*Ibid.* p. 34.

the general judgment, in which only the al separation of the good and evil will take ace. Nothing is more foreign to the nature of rist's church, than the proposition, that it as intended only to comprise the elect and e just. The struggle between good and evil—tween truth and error—between the powers heaven and the 'gates of hell'—is to go on til the consummation of the world: and rist has pledged his solemn word, that 'the tes of hell shall not prevail against his urch' (Math. xvi, 18); and that he will be ith the body of his pastors and teachers 'all ys even to the consummation of the world.' bid. xxviii, 20.) Abuses existed in all ages the church, even during her palmiest days. ne writings of the earliest fathers—of St. yprian, of Tertullian, of St. Ambrose, and . John Chrysostom—paint them in the most owing colors. The church never approved them—she could not do so even for a day; r Christ had solemnly promised to guard er from error. She bore her constant testi-ony against them, and labored without inter-ission for their removal. Her eighteen gen-al councils—one for each century—and her cal ecclesiastical assemblies, almost without umber—diocesan, provincial, and national—hat are they but evidences of this her con-ant solicitude, and records of her noble and peated struggles for the extirpation of error ıd vice? There is not an error that she has ot proscribed; not a vice or an abuse upon hich she has not set the seal of her con-emnation. She was divinely commissioned r this purpose: and well and fully has she ischarged the commission!"

We have already remarked that in every ge it has been the undeviating custom of the Catholic church to denounce the introduction f erroneous doctrine, and in this way has the urity and integrity of the faith once delivered) the saints been always maintained within er communion. But the disorders of vice re equally the objects of her vigilant atten-on, and she never fails to oppose them by the inistry of her pastors, and by the mainten-nce of a discipline calculated to protect the orals of her children. If Luther and his as-ociates had, as faithful ministers of the word f God, confined themselves to the condemna-ion of the vices prevalent in their age, they vould have rendered a service to religion; but hey went farther than this, and instead of aboring within the church to correct the evils vhich were lamented by all, they formed a ociety apart, placing themselves in opposi-ion to the whole Christian world, severing he bond of Christian unity, thus branding hemselves with the character of heterodoxy, like the sectaries of all former times, by abandoning the church, "the pillar and the ground of truth." Was this the dictate of wisdom? Was this the true way of correcting evils of a mere disciplinary nature, as those which existed in the sixteenth century?

"Which is the proper way to cure a sick patient, to remain with him, and to administer to him medicine, or to separate from him, and to denounce him for his malady? Which is the preferable way to repair an edifice, to remain within or near it, and to labor patiently to re-establish it in its former strength and beauty, or to leave it and bedaub its walls with mud and slime? Finally, which would be the better patriot, he who would remain faithful to the republic, and patiently await the progress of legal enactments for the redress of grievances, or he who would *nullify* the union under pretext of those grievances? Let the seal of public reprobation set upon a recent attempt of the kind—in which the principle of disorganization was precisely the same as that which urged the reformers to *nullify* the unity of the church—answer this question. An old Protestant divine of the church of England, illustrates the evil of separation from the church, under pretext of reforming it, by the following quaint comparison: You may cure a throat when it is *sore*, but not when it is *cut*."*—*P.* 88.

But Luther in an evil hour cut himself off from the church of God, and here do we find the fruitful source of those lamentable dissensions which subsequently agitated the Christian world. Separated from that society which was the guardian of revealed truth, and in whose midst the spiritual treasures of the Saviour were dispensed, how could he have failed to become the sport of error and of passion? We shall see that, having been hurried away by considerations that implied any thing but a regard for the welfare of religion, he was betrayed into excesses, both doctrinal and moral, which will ever carry along with them their own condemnation and that of their author. He might indeed have broached errors that would have borne the semblance of truth, and under other circumstances he might have passed them off under the garb of a false but austere and captivating morality; but Divine Providence, who often permits the antidote to spring up at the side of the poison, allowed the religious revolution of which we are speaking, to be so characterized by every species of extravagance degrading to human nature, that

* South. *Sermons*, vol. v, p. 946.

it is difficult to conceive how any candid mind can contemplate it attentively, as retraced by the faithful pen of history, without being compelled to deny that the finger of God was there. It has been the task of Mr. Spalding to develop this subject; to unmask the genius of the reformation; to show that it was intrinsically made up of such elements as are essentially repugnant to the wisdom and sanctity of the Almighty; that it originated in pride, was "kept alive by avarice and licentiousness, was propagated by calumny, by violence, and by pandering to the worst passions," and obtained a permanent footing chiefly through the instrumentality of the secular arm. But as the advocates of the reform have considered its consequences not only beneficial in a religious point of view, but conducive to the emancipation of the human mind and to the general happiness of mankind, our author has deemed it a part of his duty to expose these unfounded pretensions, and to prove by incontestible facts, that the influence of the reformation has not been less adverse to the interests of society than injurious in its effects upon religion. For this purpose, and to treat the whole subject in a comprehensive and lucid manner, he has divided his book into four parts, the object of which is to answer successively the following inquiries:

"I. Whether the men who brought about the reformation in Germany were such as God could or would have employed to do his work?

"II. Whether the motives which prompted, and the means which were employed to accomplish that revolution, were such as God could sanction?

"III. Whether the reformation really effected a reform in religion and in morals?

"And IV, whether its influence was beneficial to society, by developing the principles of free government, and promoting literature and civilization?"—*P.* 36.

In the present state of religious controversy, and, we may say, of philosophical investigation generally, especially in its bearing upon the interests of social life, there is no subject that could have better deserved the attention of Dr. Spalding than the examination of these questions. We have already alluded to the erroneous ideas that are prevalent in regard to the benefits which have been dispensed by the reformers, and it must be added that the recent history of Mr. D'Aubigné, which is circulated throughout the length and breadth of the land, attaches a vast additional importance to the performance of our author.

As to the manner in which he has executed his task, we think it will be readily admitted by the impartial critic, that he has done ample justice to his subject within the limits which he had prescribed to himself. His object was to write a work for general circulation, and which of course did not allow of so copious an exposition of facts as might under other circumstances have been produced; but the great end has been obtained, by exhibiting more than sufficient evidence from historical sources of unquestionable authority, to refute the gratuitous assumptions and dissipate the fond delusions of the Genevan writer. From the above mentioned division of the work, the reader will perceive that it bids fair to be methodical in its development, and we are pleased to say, that the author has not been less happy in arranging the details than in determining the general outlines of his subject. His style is pure, elegant, and vigorous, and rises frequently to a degree of power and eloquence that enchains the mind of the reader. The haste in which the volume was prepared for the press, will account for the few occasional witticisms and foreign expressions which are introduced, and which seem to detract a little from the purity and gravity of the diction; but upon the whole, the style of Dr. Spalding is very felicitous. Some may perhaps discover at times a vein of harshness in the phraseology, which, however, will be easily overlooked when the author puts forth the following disclaimer:

"Though we have been compelled to allege strong facts and to use plain language, yet we hope we have carefully abstained from employing any epithets unnecessarily harsh or offensive. God is our witness, that we have not meant wantonly to wound the feelings of any one."—*P.* 378.

We do not intend to follow the writer through the different departments of his subject; the occupation would indeed be a pleasing one, and interesting to our readers; but all that our limits will permit, and we will frankly avow, all that we wish to accomplish is, to furnish them only so much in the form of excerpts as to whet their literary appetite, and to give them a taste for enjoying the full contents of the volume. Dr. Spalding, after having

awn the portrait of Luther as he was before e reformation, thus sketches his character as subsequently displayed itself:

"Such was Luther before he began the reformation in 1517. How changed, alas! was e after this period—*heu! quantùm mutatus ab o!* He is no longer the humble monk, the rupulous priest, the fervent Christian, that e was before! Amidst the storm which he xcited, he gradually suffered shipwreck of most every virtue, and became reckless and epraved—the mere creature of impulse, the ild of pride, the victim of violent and degrading passion! We trust to make all this ppear from certain and undoubted facts, hich no one can deny. And the result of ir reasoning will be the irresistible conclusion that, for him at least, the reformation was down-hill business: and, according to M. 'Aubigné's test, that this was its general ndency.

"His own deterioration, and the work of e reformation were both gradual—they went nd in hand. He did not at first seem to aim any change in the doctrines and institutions the Catholic church: this thought was deeloped only afterwards. In the 38th, 67th, nd 71st of his famous ninety-five *theses* pubshed against Tetzel on the 1st of November, 517, he expressly maintained the authority of e pope, and the Catholic doctrine on indulences. He professed only to aim at the corection of abuses.

"It is a mooted question, whether jealousy the Dominican order, which had been enusted with the preaching of the indulgences, the exclusion of his own rival order of the ugustinians, influenced him in his first atck on Tetzel. Such seems to have been the pinion of the enlightened pontiff Leo X, who, hen the controversy was first reported to him, emarked, smiling, 'that it was all a mere onkish squabble originating in jealousy.'* uch also was the opinion of many other anent writers. Certain it is that this jealousy, it did not originate, at least fed and maintained the discussion. Luther's order, with s principal members—Staupitz, Link, Lange, nd others—were his warmest advocates; hile the Dominicans—Cajetan, Hochstraet, ck, and Prierias—were his chief opponents. he Dominican order continued faithful to the nurch; the Augustinians of Germany abanoned it almost without an exception.

"Had he paused at the proper time, had e continued to leave untouched the venerable ndmarks of Catholic faith, and confined himelf to the correction of local disorders, all Catholics would have applauded his zeal. Instead of being reckoned with Arius, Pelagius, Vicliffe, and other heresiarchs, he would then ave found a niche in the temple of Catholic fame, with an Ambrose and a Gregory VII, and a Bernard! His great talents, properly regulated, might have been immensely beneficial to the church of God. But, standing on the brink of a precipice, he became dizzy, and fell; and, like Lucifer of old, he drew after him one-third of the stars of God's kingdom on earth! The old Catholic tree bore some evil fruits of abuses—generally local and unauthorized, as we shall see in the proper place—and, instead of pruning it discreetly and nurturing its growth, he recklessly lopped off all its branches, and even attempted to tear it up by the roots, under the pretext, forsooth, of making it bear fruit!!

"The question has often been asked,—was Luther sincere? We have no doubt of his sincerity nor of his piety, until he turned reformer. Perhaps, too, he might have been sincere during the first year or two of his reformative career. God, only, can judge his heart; and it would be rash in us to attempt to fathom, what only He can search with unerring accuracy. Still we have some facts whereon to base a judgment in the matter. There is little doubt that he had some misgivings at first. He himself tells us that 'he trembled to find himself alone against the whole church.'* He himself testifies on this subject as follows: 'How often has my conscience disturbed me! How often have I said to myself: dost thou imagine thyself wiser than all the rest of mankind? Darest thou imagine that all mankind has been in error for so long a series of years.'† And again: 'I am not so bold as to assert that I have been guided in this affair by God—upon this point I would not wish to undergo the judgment of God.'‡

"He regretted at first, that his *theses* had become so public, and had made so great a stir among the people. 'My design,' says he, 'was not to make them so public. I wished to discuss the various points comprised in them with some of our associates and neighbors. If they had condemned them, I would have destroyed them; if they had approved of them, I would have published them.'§ 'He was disturbed and dejected at the thought'—of standing alone against the church—'doubts which he thought he had overcome, returned to his mind with fresh force. He trembled to think that he had the whole authority of the church against him. To withdraw himself from that authority—to resist that voice which nations and ages had humbly obeyed—to set himself in opposition to that church which he had been accustomed from his infancy to revere as the mother of the faithful: he, a despicable monk—it was an effort beyond human power.'‖

* *Che coteste erano invidie fratesche.* Brandelli, a temporary Dominican writer. *Hist. Tyag. pars* 3.

* "*Solus primo eram.*" Opp. in Præf. Edit. Wittemb.

† Opp. Lutheri. Germ. Edit. Geneva, vol. ii, fol. 9.

‡ Ibid. vol. i, 364.

§ Epist. Collect. Wette, I, p. 95.

‖ D'Aubigne i, 257.

"Luther himself tells us how he struggled against this feeling—how he lulled to rest that still small voice of conscience within his bosom. 'After having triumphed, by means of the Scriptures, over all opposing arguments, I at last overcame, by the grace of Christ (!) with much anguish, labor, and great difficulty, the only argument that still stopped me, namely, *'that I must hear the church;'* for, from my heart, I honored the church of the pope as the true church,' &c.* He foresaw the dreadful commotions of which he would be the author, and trembled at the thought! 'I tremble—I shudder at the thought, that I may be an occasion of discord to such mighty princes.'† Still he recklessly persevered!

"But these scruples were but 'a remnant of popery;' soon he succeeded in lulling his conscience into a fatal security. An awful calm succeeded the storm. The pride of being at the head of a strong party—the praises of the students and professors of the Wittemberg university—the flattery of friends, and the smiles of the powerful elector of Saxony—soon quieted the qualms of conscience. The following facts—selected almost at random from a mass of evidence of the same kind—may contribute to throw additional light on the question of his sincerity.

"On the 30th of May, 1518, Trinity Sunday, he wrote a letter to Leo X, of which the following is the concluding passage: 'Therefore, most holy father, I throw myself at the feet of your holiness, and submit myself to you with all that I have and all that I am. Destroy my cause or espouse it; pronounce either for or against me; take my life or restore it, as you please: I will receive your voice as that of Christ himself, who presides and speaks through you. If I have deserved death, I refuse not to die: the earth is the Lord's and the fulness thereof. May he be praised for ever and ever. May he maintain you to all eternity! Amen.'‡ The sequel tested the sincerity of this declaration. But even while he was penning it, or very shortly after, he preached from the pulpit at Wittemberg against the power of the pope to fulminate excommunication, and he was engaged in circulating inflammatory tracts breathing the same spirit.§

"In 1519 he had a conference with Miltitz, the papal envoy, to whose perfect satisfaction he arranged every thing, promising to keep silence in future, as to the questions in controversy. The good nuncio embraced him, wept with joy, and invited him to a banquet, at which he loaded him with caresses. Whi this scene was being acted, Luther, in a pr vate letter to a friend, called him 'a deceive a liar, who parted from him with a Judas-li kiss and crocodile tears;'* and, in another le ter, to Spalatin, he wrote: 'let me whisper your ear; I do not know whether the pope Antichrist, or only his apostle,'† &c. Ar yet, at this very time, on the 3d March, 151 he wrote to the pope in these words; 'Mo holy father, I declare it in the presence of Go and of all the world, I never have sought, n will I ever seek to weaken by force or artific the power of the Roman church or of yo holiness. I confess that there is nothing heaven or earth that should be preferred abov that church; save only Jesus Christ the Lo of all.'‡ The same man who wrote this, in pugned the primacy of the pope the very sam year in the famous discussion with Dr. Ec at Leipsic! Was he—could he be sincere i all this? But, farther, when on the 3d of O tober, 1520, he became acquainted with th bull of Leo X, by which his doctrines wer condemned, he wrote these remarkable words 'I will treat it as a forgery, though I know to be genuine.'§

"The following evidence will greatly aid u in judging of the motives which guided Luthe in the work of the reformation. What thos motives were he surely was the best judg Let us then see what himself tells us on this sub ject. In his famous harangue against Kar stadt and the image breakers, delivered fro the pulpit of the church of All-Saints at Wit temberg he plainly says that, if his recrean disciples will not take his advice, 'he will n hesitate to retract every thing he had eithe taught or written, and leave them;' and h adds emphatically: 'this I tell you once fo all.'‖ In an abridged confession of faith which he drew up for his partisans, he says i a vaunting tone: 'I abolished the elevation o the host, to spite the pope; and I had retaine it so long to spite Karlstadt.'¶ In the new form of service, which he composed as a sub stitute for the mass, he says in a similar spirit 'if a council were to order the communion t be taken in both kinds, he and his would only take it in one or none; and would, moreover curse all those who should, in conformity with this decree of the council, communicate in both kinds.'** Could the man be sincere who openly boasted of being governed by such motives?

"We might continue to discuss the question of his sincerity, by showing how he said one thing to Cardinal Cajetan, and in the diet o Worms in 1521, and other things precisely

* Luth. Opp. Lat. i, 49.

† "*Inter tantos principes dissidii origo esse valde horreo et timeo.*" Ep. i, 93.

‡ Luth. Epist. vol. i, p, 121. Edit. Wette.

§ "*Habui nuper sermonem ad populum de virtute excommunicationis, ubi taxavi obiter tyrannidem et inscitiam sordidissimi illius vulgi officialium commissariorum vicariorum,*" &c. Epist. ad Wencesl. Link, Julii, 1518.

* Epist. Sylvio Egrano, 2 Feb. 1519.

† Epist. Spalatino, 12 Feb. 1519. See Audin, Life of Luther, p. 91, and D'Hubigne ii, 15, 16.

‡ Epist. i, p. 234. § D'Aubigne ii, 128.

‖ "Non dubitabo funem reducere, et omnium quæ aut scripsi aut docui palinodiam canere: hoc vobis dictum esto." *Sermo docens abusus non manibus*, &c.

¶ Confessio Parva. ** Forma Missæ.

ntradictory to his friends, at the same time: ow, before Cajetan, he appealed first to the iiversities,* then to the pope, better informed,† id subsequently to a general council :‡ and ow, when all these tribunals had decided gainst him, he would abide by none of their ecisions, his reiterated solemn promises to the ntrary notwithstanding! Did the Spirit of od direct him in all these tortuous windings artful policy? Do they manifest aught of e uprightness of a boasted apostle? Do they ot rather bespeak the wily heresiarch—an rius, a Nestorius, or a Pelagius?

"We say nothing at present of his consisncy: we speak only of his sincerity and mmon honesty. No one ever praised his constency: he was confessedly a mere creature impulse and of passion, constant in nothing it in his hatred of the pope and of the Catho- church. His inconsistencies would fill a olume, and a mere allusion to them would vell this chapter to an unwarrantable length.§

"But there is one incident in the private life Luther too curious to be passed over in lence. We give it in the words of M. Audin, ith his references to cotemporary historians. After the labors of the day, he would walk ith Catharine'—the nun whom he had edded—' in the little garden of the convent, ear the ponds in which colored fish were isporting; and he loved to explain to her the onders of the creation, and the goodness of im who had made it with his hands. One vening the stars sparkled with unwonted rightness, and the heavens appeared to be on re. 'Behold what splendor those luminous oints emit,' said Catharine to Luther. Luher raised his eyes. 'What glorious light,' aid he: '*it shines not for us.*' 'Why not?' eplied Bora; 'have we lost our title to the ingdom of heaven?' Luther sighed—'Perhaps so,' said he, 'because we have abanoned our state.' 'We ought to return to it, nen,' said Catharine. '*It is too late—the car s sunk too deeply,*' added the doctor. The onversation dropped."‖

From this exposition of Luther's sincerity nd consistency, our author passes to the enuneration of various facts, drawn from the reormer's own works, or those of contempoary writers, which furnish some idea of the iolent passions, the gross ribaldry, the shameess immorality and profaneness of the new postle, and concludes the portrayal of his haracter in these words:

"Such was Martin Luther, *after* he had left the holy Catholic church! Compare his character then with what it was *before* that event; and then apply M. D'Aubigné's test given above, and the conclusion is irresistible—that he was not a chosen instrument in the hands of God for reforming the church, which 'He had purchased with His blood.' Before he left the church, he was, as we have seen, humble, patient, pious, devoted, chaste, scrupulous—afterwards, he was, in every one of these particulars, directly the reverse! Does God choose such instruments to do his work? Was Moses, was Aaron, were the apostles such characters? He, like the apostles, forsooth! They were humble, chaste, patient, temperate and modest: he was proud, immoral, impatient and shameless. They had a mission from God, and proved it by miracles: he had not the one, nor did he claim the other; though challenged on the subject, by the Zuinglians and by the Anabaptists.* Therefore God did not send him—and all of M. D'Aubigné's canting theory falls to the ground."—*P.* 65.

In exact conformity with the character and conduct of Luther, was the nature of the reform which he established; and whoever will glance through the work before us, will discover that its main causes were the impulses and operations of human passion, that its progress was every where marked by violence, that its effects, instead of exhibiting any improvement in faith and morals, were most disastrous in relation to both, and that the very men who had thrown off the salutary yoke of church authority, under the pretence of religious freedom, were the first to condemn their own disciples, when the latter availed themselves of the same privilege, to push the reform to the wildest extremes of fanaticism and absurdity. The conclusion then of every candid inquirer must be, that Luther's mission was not from above, and that the work of the reformation was intrinsically vicious.†

An objection, however, may here present itself to the mind of those who have been accustomed to a superficial view of the subject, and is derived from the fact, that several of the

* D'Aubigne i, 357. † Id. i, 376.
‡ Id. i, 389, and again, ii, 134.
§ Those who may be curious to investigate this subject will find abundant facts in "Audin's Life of Luther." We direct the attention of such to the following pages: 81, 82, 85, 94, 95, 102, 110, 354, 472, 238, 239, 240, 291, 312, 397, 398, 410, 430, 511, &c. &c.
‖ Georg Joanneck—*Norma Vitæ.* Kraus—Oviedul. part ii, fol. 39. Apud Audin, p. 382.

* See Audin, p. 239. Stuebner, an Anabaptist, asked him to produce his miracles. He was silent, though a little before, he had made the very same challenge to Karlstadt, and renewed it afterwards to the Zuinglians.

† It is sometimes urged, as by M. D'Aubigne, that the rapid progress of the reformation was a miraculous evidence of the divine sanction and co-operation. But this evidence, as it *followed* the teaching of Luther and his associates, came too late. Evidence, in order to found a belief, must be produced *before* the mind yields its assent.

chief pastors of the Catholic church have dishonored their high station by the depravity of their life. If the unworthy character of the reformers is sufficient to disprove the validity of their mission, would not the scandalous life of certain popes equally militate against their authority, and the orthodoxy of the church over which they presided? A little reflection will show that there is not the slightest ground of comparison between the two cases. In the first place, the few sovereign pontiffs to whom we now allude, had received the character and jurisdiction of their office in the regular way, and if afterwards they became personally unworthy of their exalted charge, they belonged to the number of those of whom our Saviour spoke when he said: "The scribes and Pharisees have sat in the chair of Moses; all, therefore, whatsoever they shall say to you, observe and do; but according to their works, do ye not." Was it thus with Luther and his associates? Had they any legitimate authority derived through the ordinary channel of ecclesiastical power? Could they be said to have a commission from the church of Christ when they at first stood alone in opposition to the whole Christian world? Moreover, they announced themselves as the *founders* of new religions, as the instruments of the Almighty to regenerate Christendom, and it was, therefore, incumbent on them to manifest in their lives at least the ordinary marks of a divine commission. Were the prophets of old, were the apostles of the New Testament, men of violent and ungovernable passions, and of loose morality? God has never employed such characters for the extraordinary intimations of his will to man. As to the popes, they exercised no mission that was not the ordinary appendage of their station; they were not the *founders* of a new religion; they were members of a church already established, and although called to the highest offices which it confers, they did not for this reason become impeccable, or free from the weaknesses of human nature, except so far as they were willing to overcome them. But again: the reformers were not only practically at odds with the rigid maxims of the gospel, they were not only destitute of that virtue which should appear in the extraordinary heralds of revelation, they went so far even as to teach, as a portion of their doctrine, principles which are abhorrent to every Christian mind and most glaringly at variance wit the positive teachings of the sacred Scripture Luther permitted in some cases concubinag and polygamy. He and his associates solemn ly authorized the landgrave of Hesse to marr a second wife while he adhered to the firs Karlstadt went still further; he wished to rende polygamy entirely permissible to all. We wel know what they thought of good works. Could they have received any commissio from heaven, whose teaching was thus dia metrically opposed to the plainest injunction of Christianity? Could they who were sen by the Almighty authorize the grossest im moralities in the name of the Almighty Could the kingdom of God be thus divide against itself? The case was far different wit the few popes whose lives were disedifying not a solitary one ever undertook to palliat his irregular conduct, by defending it upo principle or proclaiming it as a system o morals for the observance of others. Immorality in them was a weakness, which they themselve condemned as scandalous and unjustifiable It will always be true then that the reformer of the sixteenth century have, in the providence of God, exhibited in themselves the grounds o their own condemnation. Luther was the sport of his unbridled passions, of his pride, lus and resentment. He was, according to his own admissions, the disciple of Satan himself.† As to the other reformers, Karlstadt, Zuinglius, Ochin, Calvin, Beza, and Cranmer, they were little behind him in the constituents of what the present age would call scandalous men.‡

Dr. Spalding has not been the first to unveil the real character of the men who contributed to the reformation, and to expose the chief causes of its temporary progress; but he has embodied, we think, a greater variety of facts bearing upon the subject, and in a more connected form, than have yet been presented in an English work. The principal utility of his review, however, will be found in the refutation of that gratuitous opinion which is so prevalent among the opponents of the Catholic faith, that the religious revolution of the sixteenth century is the grand era from which

* See D'Aubigne Reviewed, p. 94, *et seq.* Milner's Letters, p. 130, &c.

† See D'Aubigne Reviewed, p. 56.

‡ Ibid. p. 66. Milner's Letters to a Prebend. p. 126, *et seq.*

e are to date the enfranchisement of the human ind, and that the efforts of the reformers ıused a flood of light to burst upon the intel- ctual world, not less brilliant and influential . the moral sphere than the solar luminary in e physical universe. For the improvement hich it introduced into religion, by engen- ering innumerable and opposite systems of octrinal belief, relaxing the morality of the ospel, and breaking down the most powerful ırriers to the passions of men, we must refer e reader to Mr. Spalding's work. We have ırely space, within the limits of an article, to ıll attention to other portions of the volume hich we deem peculiarly interesting and im- ortant.

Among the blessings which are so strangely sserted to have flowed from the reformation, religious liberty. No proposition is more equently repeated in the discourses and the ritings of a certain class of men, than that hich represents the reform as the signal of lease from the degrading yoke of the papacy, ıd of freedom to adopt any system of religious pinions. But, alas! how invariably has ex- erience proved the assertion to be unfounded. he reformation indeed tore from the arms of ıe mother church many thousands of her ıildren; but was it to leave them in the peace- ıl enjoyment of that fancied liberty of senti- ıent which it had promised? It could not be. ıll philosophy protests against the possibility f such a case. How could they who in the ride of their minds had not spared the vene- able faith of universal Christendom, be in- ulgent to the upstart opinions of various petty ects? History has proved that the hypothesis ıvolves a contradiction.

"The tyrannical and intolerant character of uther, the father of the reformation, is in fact dmitted by all candid Protestants. We have lready seen the testimony which his most fa- ored disciple, Melancthon, bears to his brutal onduct even towards himself, whenever he midly ventured to differ from him in opinion. he vile state of bondage in which the fierce eformer held his meek disciple is thus graphi- ally painted in a confidential letter of Melanc- hon to his friend Camerarius: 'I am in a tate of servitude, as if I were in the cave of the yclops: and often do I think of making my scape.'* Even Dr. Sturges, a most inveter- te enemy of Rome, grants that 'Luther was, n his manners and writings, coarse, presum- ng, and impetuous.'†—*P.* 251.

* Epist. ad Camer. † Reflect. on Popery.

"From an early period of its history, the reformation was disgraced with the crime of persecution for conscience' sake. The oldest branch of it, the Lutheran, not only fiercely denounced, and even sometimes excluded from salvation, the reformed or Calvinistic branch; but it also endeavored to check by violence the fierce discord which raged within its own bosom. A learned Lutheran professor, Dr. Fecht, gives it as the opinion of his sect, 'that all but Lutherans, and *certainly* all the reformed Calvinists were excluded from salvation.'* The Lutheran Strigel was imprisoned for three years by his brother religionists, for maintaining that man was not merely passive in the work of his conversion. Hardenburg was banished from Saxony for having been guilty of some leaning towards the Calvinistic doctrines on the eucharist. Shortly after Luther's death, the Lutherans were divided into two great sects, the ultra Lutherans and the Melancthonians, who mutually denounced each other, and even refused to unite in the rites of communion and burial. So far was the intolerance growing out of this controversy carried, that Peucer, Melancthon's son-in-law, was imprisoned for ten years, for having espoused the party of his father-in-law: and Cracau, another Lutheran, was plied with the torture for a similar offence! Besides these two great Lutheran sects, there were also the Flaccianists and the Strigelians—the Osiandrians and the Stancarians—and many others, who persecuted each other with relentless fury. Lutheranism was thus, from its very birth, a prey to the fiercest dissensions. Verily, they claimed and exercised the liberty of 'combating,' so essential, according to M. D'Aubigné, to the Protestant theory of religious liberty.

"The first who dared question the infallibility of Luther was the first to feel the heavy weight of his intolerant vengeance. Andrew Bodenstein, more generally known by the name of Karlstadt, could not agree with him as to the lawfulness of images, on the real presence, on infant baptism, and on some other topics. He had reached different conclusions, by following his own private judgment in expounding the Scriptures. During Luther's absence from Wittemberg, he had sought to make proselytes to his new opinions in the very citadel of the reformation. Luther caused him to be driven from Wittemberg, and hunted him down with implacable resentment, driving him from city to city of Germany; till at last the unfortunate victim of his intolerance expired a miserable outcast at Basle in Switzerland.—*P.* 252, 253.

"The Lutherans carried out their intolerant principles in regard to the Anabaptists. On the 7th of August, 1536, a synod was convened at Hamburg, to which deputies were

* See Dr. Pusey's "Historical Inquiry," sup. cit.

sent by all the cities who had separated from Rome. The chief object of the meeting was to devise means for exterminating the Anabaptists. Not one voice was raised in their favor. Even Melancthon, whom M. Audin styled 'the Fenelon of the reformation,' voted for inflicting the punishment of death on every Anabaptist who would remain obstinate in his errors, or would dare return from the place of banishment to which the magistrates might transport him. Fenelon would not have been thus intolerant. 'The ministers of Ulm demanded that heresy should be extinguished by fire and sword. Those of Augsburg said: 'if we have not yet sent any Anabaptist to the gibbet, we have at least branded their cheeks with red iron.' Those of Tubingen cried out 'mercy for the poor Anabaptists, who are seduced by their leaders: but death to the ministers of this sect. The chancellor showed himself much more tolerant: he wished that the Anabaptists should be imprisoned, where by dint of hard usage, they might be converted.' *

"From the Synod emanated a decree, from which we will present the following extract, as a specimen of Lutheran intolerance officially proclaimed. 'Whoever rejects infant baptism—whoever transgresses the orders of the magistrates—whoever preaches against taxes—whoever teaches the community of goods—whoever usurps the priesthood—whoever holds unlawful assemblies—whoever sins against faith—*shall be punished with death.* . . . As for the simple people who have not preached, or administered baptism, but who were seduced to permit themselves to frequent the assemblies of the heretics, if they do not wish to renounce Anabaptism, they shall be scourged, punished with perpetual exile, and even with *death*, if they return three times to the place whence they have been expelled.'†—*P.* 256, 257.

"The Calvinists were at least equally intolerant with the Lutherans. When the former gained the ascendency in a portion of Germany in which the latter had before been predominant, they roused up the people against the sons of the devil—which is the name they gave the Lutherans. They drove them from their posts, of which they took possession. 'What a melancholy thing! More than a thousand Lutheran ministers were proscribed, *with their wives and children*, and reduced to beg the bread of charity,' says Olearius. Calvinism could not tolerate Lutheranism. It had appealed to prince Casimir, and expressed its petition in two Latin verses, in which the prince was left to choose, in extinguishing the rival creed, between the sword, the wheel, water, the rope, or fire!"

O Casimire potens, servos expelle Lutheri :
Ense, rota, ponto, funibus, igne neca.—*P.* 260.

* Catrou, liv. i, p. 224, seqq., and Audin, p. 464.
† Ibid. See also Gastius, p. 365, seqq. Menzel ut supra, and Meshovius, l. v, cap. xv, xviii, seqq., &c.

It is easy to infer from these few, amo the many excellent and learned observatio of Dr. Spalding, that the Catholics did n escape a persecution which was so ruthless waged by the reformed sects against each othe nor has the spirit of persecution been y stayed. We call attention to this subjec however, not for the purpose of casting an reflection upon our dissenting brethren, b merely to show that, if Catholics have som times been chargeable with intolerance, the are far from standing alone under the impu tation. The facts which we have quoted with the endless series that might be added should lead those who differ from us in faith to beware of the gross misrepresentations c certain men, who through ignorance or pe verseness are constantly declaiming agains the pretended illiberal and persecuting spir of the Catholic church. The following un deniable statements deserve an attentive con sideration.

"There is not *one* Catholic government o Europe which now persecutes for conscience sake: and, on the other hand, there is scarcely one Protestant government which *does no* persecute, in one form or other, even at thi day! We have already seen what is the pre sent policy of the latter, in regard to toleration Our assertion in regard to the former, can b easily substantiated.

"Belgium is Catholic, and Belgium has a Protestant king, allows equal political rights to Protestants with Catholics, and is at the same time, perhaps, the freest monarchy in Europe. The inquisition has been long since abolished in Spain and Portugal, and these no longer persecute dissenters. France is Catholic, and France not only does not persecute but she protects the Protestant religion, and pays its ministers, even more than she allows to the Catholic clergy—which is but equitable, as these have their wives and families to support! The present leading minister of state in France is a Calvinist, M. Guizot!

"Bavaria is Catholic; and Bavaria allows equal civil rights to Protestants as to Catholics. Hungary is Catholic; and Hungary does the same. Austria is Catholic; and Austria adopts the same equitable policy. Bohemia is Catholic; and Bohemia imitates the example of the other Catholic states. Italy is Catholic; and Protestants have places of worship and public cemeteries at the very gates of the eternal city itself! So far is this toleration carried, that but a few years since, a parson of the church of England, delivered a course of lectures against popery at Rome itself; and Dr. Wiseman answered them.

"Poland—poor bleeding and crushed Po-

nd, was Catholic to its very heart's core; nd Poland was never sullied with persecuon! Ireland was ever Catholic; and Ireland ever persecuted, though she had it in her ower to do so at three different times! Fially, it was the Catholic Lord Baltimore, and ie Catholic colonists of Maryland, who in 648 first proclaimed on these shores the great rinciple of universal toleration, while the uritans were persecuting in New England, nd the Episcopalians in Virginia."*—*P.* 273.

Liberty of conscience and civil liberty are inmately connected, and the latter is frequently iade a pretence for denying and assailing the xercise of the former. It is then of the utmost nportance for those who have their misgivigs in reference to the genius and influence f Catholicity, to examine fairly the testimony f history on this subject. We are not afraid abide by such an investigation; we are onfident that it must redound to the glory nd triumph of our holy religion. The reiarks of Mr. Spalding on this subject should e read by all, at length: we regret that our mits can embrace but the following pararaphs:

"The reformation had halted for a brief pace between two dreadful extremes: that of bsolute and uncontrolled despotism on the ne hand, and that of dreadful anarchy on the ther. It at first favored the latter, but soon threw the whole weight of its powerful inuence into the scales of the former. The esult has been, what might have been exected, absolute despotism and union of hurch and state in every country of Germay, where the reformation obtained a footing! Had the reformers been really the friends of umanity and of liberty, had they urged the rinces to redress the just grievances of the easants, the issue of that struggle would ave been very different. The lower orders vould have been raised in the scale of society, nd free institutions, which have not blessed Germany since the reformation, would have een raised on a solid and permanent basis.

"One of the most famous Protestant histoians of the day, M. Guizot, the present minster of France, tells us, in his 'Lectures on Civilization in Modern Europe:' 'that the mancipation of the human mind, *(by the reformation!)* and absolute monarchy triumphed imultaneously throughout Europe.'† All who have but glanced at the political history of Europe in the sixteenth century, must at once see the truth of this remark. In the Protestant kingdoms of Europe, the rule suffers no exception: in all of them absolute monarchy, in its most consolidated and despotic form, dates precisely from the period of the reformation.

"Witness Prussia, Denmark, Sweden, and, we may add, England: for it is certain, that for one hundred and fifty years following the reformation in England, the liberties of the people were crushed; the privileges secured by the Catholic *magna charta* were wantonly trampled under foot; and royal prerogative swallowed up every other element of government. It was only at the period of the revolution in 1688, that the principles of *magna charta* were again feebly asserted, and partially restored to their proper influence in the government.*

"In Catholic countries, the necessity of strong measures of precaution against the seditions and tumults occasioned by the reformation in every place where it had made its appearance, tended powerfully to strengthen the arm of the executive: and in the general ferment of the times, the people willingly resigned most of the civil privileges they had enjoyed during the middle ages, in order, by increasing the power of their rulers, the more effectually to stem the torrent of innovation, and to avert the threatened evils of anarchy. Thus the political tendency of the reformation, both directly and indirectly, favored the introduction of absolute systems of government throughout Europe.

"And thus do we owe to that 'glorious reformation,' the despotic governments, the vast standing armies, and we may add, the immense public debts and the burdensome taxation, of most of the European governments! M. Guizot's assertion is well founded, both in the principles of political philosophy, and in the facts of history. We may however remark, that it was a strange 'emancipation of the human mind' truly, which thus avowedly led to the 'triumph of absolute monarchy throughout Europe!'

"It would seem that Switzerland at least was an exception to M. Guizot's sweeping assertion; as absolute monarchy never was established in its cantons, even *after* the reformation! But the reader of Swiss history will not fail to observe that wherever Protestantism was established in that country, there the democratic principle was weakened, the legislative councils unduly interfered in spiritual matters, and despotism thus often triumphed in the much abused name of liberty. Those cantons of Switzerland are the freest which have remained faithful to the Catholic religion. In them, you read of no persecution of Protestants for conscience' sake, of no attempts to unite church and state, and of little departure in any respect, from the original Catholic charter of Swiss liberties.

* Bancroft, vol. i. Maryl.

† P. 300 of Lectures, &c. American ed. 1 vol. 12mo.

* See an able essay on this subject in Nos. xv, xviii, xix, of the Dublin Review, "on arbitrary power, Popery, Protestantism;" re-published in a neat 12mo. volume by M. Fithian, Philadelphia, 1842, p. 251.

"It is a remarkable fact, that the three cantons which first asserted Swiss liberty—those of Schweitz, Uri and Unterwald—have all continued faithful to the Catholic church; as well as to the good old principles of democracy bequeathed to them by the Catholic founders of their republic, William Tell, Furst and Melchtal. It was under these renowned leaders, that the troops of the three cantons just named fought, 1309, the memorable battle of Morgarten, which drove the Austrians from Switzerland, and caused the banner of Swiss independence to float triumphant over a people, as free as the air which stirred its expansive folds!"—*P.* 290, &c.

From the extracts which we have submitted to our readers, they may form some idea of the ability which characterizes Mr. Spalding's work. Besides the research and accuracy which he has brought to his task, it has been executed with that judgment and impartial spirit which must recommend it to the favorable attention of all, whether Protestants or Catholics. We congratulate the author on the successful manner in which he has handled his subject, and the extensive benefits which are likely to flow from this first production of his pen. Viewing also the peculiar circumstances under which it appears, there is every reason to augur for it a wide circulation and a corresponding usefulness. M. D'Aubigné's history is calculated, in every respect, to mislead the public, and the most strenuous and unremitting efforts are made to disseminate the work over every part of the United States. Numerous editions of it have been published, for the spreading of which other means are adopted than the interested exertions of booksellers. It has become a favorite work among the adversaries of the Catholic church, who, in their private capacity and by the still more efficacious method of association, are endeavoring to scatter it throughout the length and breadth of our land. Whoever feels an interest, therefore, in the propagation of truth, should make it a point to circulate, to the best of his power, the excellent review which Mr. Spalding has given to the public. We are willing to believe that our dissenting brethren would gladly avail themselves of an opportunity to read both sides of the question, and to learn the real facts of the case. And, in our country, where so many powerful influences are at work to mislead public sentiment, in regard to the comparative merits of the Catholic and reformed churches, where it is almost a professional business, among a numerous class of misguided zealots, to assail the former with perpetual denunciations as the enemy of liberty and truth, and to hold forth the latter as the consummation of all that is conducive to the moral and social happiness of man, we owe it to ourselves, to our religion, and to our patriotism, to repel the foul imputations that are incessantly brought against us, and we owe it to all within our reach, as far as circumstances will permit, to place them in possession of that information which is necessary to rectify their erroneous impressions and to produce among our countrymen a healthy tone of sentiment and feeling.

RELIGION.

Hail! pure religion, day beam from on high,
Built on the solid rock of endless time;
Born with the world, and hallowed with the streams
That flowed on Calvary from Jesus' veins;
Mother of peace and source of that true joy
A heartfelt sense of thee alone can give;
Shed o'er the earth thy pure effulgent beams,
Dispel the darkness, break the chains of sin;
Lift up thy palm-wreathed sceptre, and restore
Peace, truth, and justice to a fallen world.
Fallen, alas! how fallen from the time
When all the world rejoiced in one true faith;
Ere jarring heresies and novel creeds

Sprung from the weak presumptuous mind of man,
Disturbed the peace bequeathed us by a God;
Taught by apostles and by angels sung—
Yet shalt thou flourish, and those days shall come
Back even brighter than they e'er have been,
Blessed with the Deity's approving smile;
Thy glorious light shall shine from pole to pole.
And art thou not already stretching forth
Thy fostering arms, inviting all astray
Back to thy bosom with a mother's zeal;
See how thy fanes are spreading o'er the land,
Lifting triumphantly their sacred heads,
Crowned with the hallowed emblem to the sky,
Calling to memory the bitter death
Of Him who came lost sinners to redeem,
And bidding all the faithful enter in
To pay their homage at thy glorious shrines.
Oh! come then, let us enter and adore
The Holy Triune and eternal God.
Hark, to the solemn peal the organ pours
In solemn strains to glorify His name,
"Hosanna in excelsis" with glad voice,
And tones melodious the choirs sing;
The stole-clad priest exalts the blessed host,
The sacred body of a living God,
And taking then the chalice of his blood,
Renews the sacrifice once made for man,
While all the people, lowly bending down,
Adore with reverence and awe profound;
The glad thanksgiving rolls along the roof,
And solemn benediction ends the mass—
Oh how sublime is worship thus poured forth!
How far transcending other frigid creeds
That have no sacrifice—nought but a type,
A sign, a shadow of what we possess.
Oh! never let us then by word or deed
Slight the high mysteries of our holy faith,
But by our bright example strive to lead
Our erring brethren from the mazy paths
Of doubt and error, to the glorious way
Which Christ has hallowed by his precious blood;
That "royal road" of the blest cross which leads
The steadfast heart from this dark world to heaven.

AUGUSTINE.

LORENZO, OR THE EMPIRE OF RELIGION.

BY A SCOTCH NON-CONFORMIST, A CONVERT TO THE CATHOLIC FAITH.

Translated from the French for the U. S. Catholic Magazine, by a lady of Philadelphia.

Continued from page 393.

CHAPTER XI.

MATILDA and Lady Walsingham hesitated a moment between the joy which the conversion of Arthur inspired, and the painful intelligence of his captivity; but faith was victorious over nature, and a passing grief yielded to the hopes of immortal happiness. At length the generous marchioness observed to Henry: "I have daily begged of God to dispose of our life according to his good pleasure, but not to refuse the grace of salvation to him whom he has given me as a partner; he has now heard my prayer, and may I also . . . " Here she was interrupted by her tears.

"Let us go and pray for him," said Lorenzo with some emotion: "if we weep, our tears will not be without some consolation; we will imagine that Arthur is with us."

Henry pressed my hand: "Ah, you, dear Henry," added Lorenzo, "*you* know and feel what happiness there is in the expectation of our being all united in heaven!" In returning from the chapel, all seemed to be calm and resigned to the state of things, except myself who was troubled and agitated. Yes, I must acknowledge, to my confusion, that the conversion of the marquis displeased me, and I viewed still more unfavorably his espousal of the queen's interests, of whom he had always spoken to me in terms of great dissatisfaction, on account of the protection which she extended to her Catholic subjects. I could never have expected so sudden and so thorough a revolution in his political and religious opinions. I asked Mr. Billingham if, at the departure of the marquis, he had any knowledge of his intentions. "Yes," said he, "the morning of the day on which he received the letter which determined him to leave, I was alone in my room in prayer, when suddenly Lord Arthur entered, closed the door, and fell at my feet. 'I am one of yours,' he said with emotion, 'I am a Catholic, and ready to seal my faith wi my blood. This I will disclose to you alon I know Sidney, his irresolution and prejudic He must be left free. My example would n have upon him the effect which might be ex pected. But circumstances do not permit d lay. I have come to ask of you, peace, admi sion into the true church, and then, fortified b the arms of grace and faith, there will be n longer any dangers to fear.' I wished him t rise; but he remained upon his knees, pro nounced his abjuration, and afterwards mad a general confession with admirable candor an humility.

"As we separated, I embraced him, sheddin tears of joy and gratitude for this unexpecte and signal blessing of heaven. He showed m the queen's note, and told me the contents of lor Maitland's letter, which he had destroyed. H further said, that he would fly to the aid of he majesty, and live and die a true Christian. H left, after making me promise to say nothin of what had passed, until after his departure he then joined you, and soon bade adieu t Remember Hill."

Mr. Billingham's relation made a strong impression upon me. Henry and I resolved t set out for Edinburg, determined to see, once more, our generous friend, were it at the peril of our lives. "For me," said Lorenzo, "I shall not be able to accompany you." My presence would but retard you, and still further expose you; I must then remain here. O Arthur, O my much loved brother! are we for ever separated on earth, and shall I not see you but in eternity? But, I am too happy with this last hope. Eternity is all! Go, my friends, your presence will sustain and console him; and he may be a benefit to Sidney."

I blushed. The marquis' words before his departure, had forcibly struck me. "He shall at least see," I exclaimed, "that it is not ne-

ssary to be a Catholic, in order to love our ends, and expose ourselves for them." A ght smile appeared on Lorenzo's lips. "No, ithout doubt," interposed Henry, "pagans ve given such examples. But, to pardon an emy, to sacrifice happiness, liberty, more a ousand times than life, to save him!"

Lorenzo blushed in his turn. Henry sighed eply, and pressed his hand with an ex- ession which told all the recollections which led his mind. Lady Walsingham courage- isly resigned herself to her husband's perilous urney. The marchioness of Rosline praised ir design, but did not acquaint us with her tentions. My parting with Lorenzo was tremely afflicting. He fortified and edified e by his saintly resignation; and I carried ith me the remembrance of his virtues, and e most exalted idea of a religion which in- ires so many generous actions.

We reached Edinburg, after having been layed a day longer on our journey, by an cident which happened to our carriage. We roceeded immediately to the governor of the ison, and asked to see the marquis of Ros- ne. "It seems," said he, "that people are ery much interested in him; it is but a few ours since a young woman asked and ob- ined the same favor; she is still with him."

Surprised, we proceeded with our note of lmittance, and were instantly conducted to rthur's apartment. He was sitting near a ttle table, on which was a light, together with n opened book; his head was resting on his ands. He did not observe us, and continued the same attitude. A woman was on her nees, reading or praying in a low voice. She rose, approached us, and our surprise equalled ur joy in recognising Matilda. The marquis arted from his reverie, at our exclamation— Great God," said he, "to what do you ex- ose yourselves for me!"

Matilda was overjoyed. "Again united, nd in the same faith," said she, taking the ands of her husband and brother; "what nore have I to desire upon earth? We can ll die, and die without regret."

A melancholy smile strayed over the mar- uis' lips. He was very pale. He had been vounded in the arm and breast, and was veakened by the loss of blood; but full of cou- age and resignation. He inquired concerning is brother, of Henry's family, and of the duchess of Salisbury, his mother. This lady, whom I had never seen, resided at Rosline castle, where was also Edmund, Arthur's son, of whom she had taken charge, when Matilda came to Remember Hill.

"I hope," added the marquis, "that Caro- line will not delay informing the duchess that I have embraced her religion; and that I die doubly her son, since eternity will more pro- bably unite us."

"Is there then no means of saving you?" I asked.

"I have not thought of that," he replied; "in what could it serve the queen? she has no longer any party. Some scattered friends could not reinstate her upon the throne; the powers of earth abandon her. To shed our blood for her was our last hope. If I survive my wounds, it will be to ascend the scaffold, which, dyed with the blood of Catholics, and of the faithful subjects of Mary, shall become a throne of glory, and the first step, I trust, to Him, who awaits us in heaven. I am tran- quil," added he, pressing my hand; "and my happiness is so much the more solid, as founded on eternal hopes, it cannot be disturbed by human vicissitudes. One only wish still is unsatisfied." He paused, and cast upon me an affectionate and expressive glance.

My eyes were fixed upon him, scarcely able to recognise the marquis of Rosline, so quick, so impetuous, so vindictive and proud, in this captive, wounded, and resigned person; so uncomplaining, and looking forward with so much calmness and grandeur of soul to a pain- ful and ignominious end, which seemed desti- tute of every aid and consolation. The bare idea of a public execution, made me shudder. He spoke of it as a pledge of his happiness. Ah! if Lorenzo had already penetrated me with re- spect and esteem for his religion, Arthur ra- pidly accomplished the work of grace. In vain my heart sought after false pretexts, new sub- terfuges to resist still longer. Celestial light illu- minated, dazzled me, and dissipated the clouds of error in which I was enveloped.

We obtained permission to pass, daily, sev- eral hours with Arthur. Matilda wished not to leave him. "I will be your nurse, your servant, all that you want," said she, "but I shall not abandon you. Is not the arrest pro- nounced against you, the same for me? Am I not the inseparable companion of your life?

and if the dearer part of me is in chains, shall I not bear them also? What God has united shall not be divided. I will follow you every where, even unto death. When your persecutors will disperse your friends, whose sex or courage may render them objects of suspicion, they will disdain to remove a woman, who asks no other favor than that of dying with you."

"Cease, my too dear Matilda," resumed the marquis, with emotion, "return with your brother, and only come with him to visit me; your presence here causes me too keen a pang. I have need of all my strength, and I ought to renounce the attachments of nature." He stopped a moment, leaned his head upon his hand, and continued with ardor, "pardon me, oh! my friends—pardon me, Matilda, the pain which my passionate temper has caused you. Pray all of you for me: He who has enlightened me, desires not that I should be forever lost; this is why He sends me the occasion of expiating the sins of my life. I relinquish you all and every thing, with joy, for his love. Preserve yourself, my dear Matilda, for your child. Repair my neglect; instruct him in the Catholic faith; let him, at some future day, know that his father was called by multiplied graces to the church of Christ; and that he shed his blood for it and his rightful sovereign."

Arthur, weakened by his emotions, became very pale. He made us a sign to remove Matilda, who, bathed in tears, was on her knees beside him. Henry took her in his arms, and bore her to an adjoining room, entreating her not to aid in shaking her husband's courage, now so necessary to him. She yielded with docility to her brother's advice; and, after Arthur had recovered, we left him, and took lodgings in a hotel, very near the prison.

We were not permitted to see him the next day; and it was not until the evening of the following day that this favor was granted. We learned that the reason of this refusal was, that they were going to send to him preachers of the English reformed church, in the design of bringing him back to Protestantism; but, he had suffered so much throughout the day, the jailer told us, that this project could not be executed.

"He is not a man, but an angel," continued the jailer, while conducting us through the windings of the prison; "he suffers martyrdom, day and night; his arm has been brok and the surgeon dressed it so unskilfully, t it was necessary to do it over again this mo ing; and yet, he never complains. Last ni I heard him moan painfully in his distur sleep. I went to him; and, finding him i state which called for prompt aid, I offered go for the physician. It was then midnig He refused to let me, saying that it would time enough the next day, and he kindly a logized for waking me. Then, seeing tha persisted in remaining with him, 'since,' s he, 'you are so good, would it be abusing yo kindness to ask you to read me a chapter that book,' pointing to a small volume whi lay upon the table, near his bed. I took it u it was the sufferings of Jesus Christ. Althou I am not a Catholic, yet, the reading of t book made a great impression upon me, a appeared very much to console my prisone who feelingly acknowledged his gratitude me. This morning the surgeon came. F from making him any reproach, he rath sought excuses for his awkwardness, a thanked him for his attentions, with a mildne and affability which have characterised hi since his abode here."

Whilst the jailer spoke, I was buried in n reflections. I recalled to mind the natural ir petuosity of the marquis. I remembered, in violent fever which he had when I travell with him, the impatience he manifested at t least delay in the fulfilment of his desires; t kind of obstinacy which I had ever remark in his character. I imagined the indignatio and anger into which a treatment like the pr sent would have thrown him, had he exp rienced it then. All these reflections broug me insensibly to the comparison of the r formed religion with that of the Catholic; an I could not but perceive how great is the liber which the former leaves to the passions, an how efficiently the latter exercises its empi over the affections and movements of the hear

We found Arthur tranquil, and even gay notwithstanding the languid expression whic extreme and long suffering had left upon h face. He consoled us for not having seen hi the previous evening. "We must expect, said he, "to be separated soon or late. I coul wish you to be present," he added, addressin me, "during the visit of the ministers; but, it is necessary, God will have it so, despite th

position of men; if it enters not into the de-
ns of his providence, I ought not to wish
"

Whilst he was yet speaking, the two persons
question arrived. The jailer made us enter
ickly into a room, whence, through the door,
nich was glazed, we could easily observe
nat passed in Arthur's apartment. Richard,
is was the name of the jailer), stood near the
or, after having presented seats to the stran-
rs; these, without pity for the condition
the marquis, conversed for an hour and a
lf, overwhelming him with reproaches and
vectives; attacking his religion with a
rmth and vehemence which made them
erstep the bounds of common sense.

The marquis of R . . . . occasionally smiled,
d with few words overthrew their false rea-
ning; they had recourse to menaces, making
own the strength of their party. Arthur
nifested more of compassion for their errors
n fear of their threats; and convinced them
t, attached unalterably to the truth, he co-
ted nothing more than the persecutions
nich he might suffer for it. Confounded and
rious, they left him. We returned. "Are
u both Catholics?" asked Richard, as soon
they were gone. "Yes, both," I replied
ickly, "and this lady also." I shall never
rget Arthur's expression on hearing this.

I was still regarding him with a thoughtful
, when I observed him become pale and in-
nsible. The jailer supposed this weakness a
tural result of the fatigue he had endured.
e, alone, knew the strong emotion my words
d caused him, Restored to consciousness,
e marquis warmly pressed my hand. It was
te, and as we were about to leave him, I fell
on my knees and asked his blessing, which
gave me and Matilda and Henry also. The
tter, alas! was never more to see him in this
orld; and, as he had a presentiment of it, he
uld not resolve to leave him, and urgently
quested leave to pass the night with him.
his was not granted.

"Adieu," said the marquis; "if we are not
see each other again, our separation will not
long. Heaven, in mercy, has to-day given
a moment of pure and unalloyed happiness.
or me, I desire nothing in this world. I
ve lived long enough, since I have the well-
unded hope that all whom I love will be
stored to me in heaven. O! Sidney," he continued, "the more you inquire into the Catholic religion, the more clearly will you recognise its truth and divinity. It is now all my happiness, all my consolation." Henry embraced him. "Farewell, my friend, my brother," said Arthur to him. "Watch over yourself, and pray for me!" We left, too much affected to speak, and very uneasy at the condition of the marquis.

In conducting us back, Richard abruptly said, "Let what God wills happen; but, I renounce my religion to embrace yours. It shall not be said that I saw all these angels around me, without being benefitted."

I could not help smiling at this expression.

"You are happy, Richard," said Henry; "your charity towards the prisoners has, without doubt, drawn upon you this grace. I think, however, that considering the circumstances, it would be well to keep it secret, in order that you may still be useful to those whom God entrusts to your care." Henry engaged to procure a priest, who should instruct him secretly; and who would, at the same time, afford Arthur the aid and consolation of his ministry.

All was thus projected; but, God had otherwise disposed. He is often pleased to try those whom he loves. Blessed forever be the inscrutable decrees of his providence.

CHAPTER XII.

Henry, being of a delicate constitution, and worn out by sorrows and disquietude, was attacked the same night by a violent fever, which brought him to the point of death. I was overwhelmed at this new distress. Henry, notwithstanding his illness, consoled and comforted me with wonderful resignation. "It is a new trial," said he: "let us receive it from the paternal hand which sends it. I feel that I must resign the painful happiness of accompanying my brother in his last moments; it is a great sacrifice; we will offer it with the rest. I am not worthy of this mournful satisfaction, neither am I worthy to precede him into the celestial regions; but, we are all, Sidney, in the hands of God, and I abandon myself entirely to him."

I went alone to Arthur. Matilda remained with her brother. "I shall see my husband

later," said she, "the moment Henry's health permits us to go together." I admired in silence the fortitude of the marchioness. Her whole soul was, without doubt, near the marquis, but he had desired her not to come without Henry, and she conformed to his wishes with perfect submission. I found Arthur still suffering extremely. The surgeon was dressing his arm. No moan escaped him, although the pain was excessive. The surgeon, at leaving, recommended him to be kept perfectly quiet. I could not, however, conceal from him the reason of my being alone, for he read in my expression this new affliction.

"We are the children of God," said he, "the troubles which he sends are proofs of his love. We should endeavor to purify ourselves in tribulation, as gold in the crucible. He who sends it, gives strength to triumph over it."

I apprised him of Richard's conversion, for which he praised God. We spoke also unreservedly of mine. I afterwards read to him "The sufferings of Christ," until seeing him in a light sleep, I prayed with much faith and interior peace. I left him to return to Henry, whose illness caused us great uneasiness.

We had written twice to Lady Walsingham, giving her the particulars of our stay at Edinburg. Henry, in his last, had enclosed a note for Mr. Billingham, inquiring if he knew not some ecclesiastic to whom we might entrust ourselves, and who would be willing to expose himself to the danger of an interview with Arthur; this was a great risk in the present critical state of religious affairs.

Mr. Billingham immediately formed the generous resolution of coming himself to join us; and he arrived the second day of Lord Walsingham's illness.

His presence was invaluable to us in our distress. He proceeded, first of all, to Arthur, who was much affected on seeing him. He was better, and out of bed. He was about to cast himself at the feet of Mr. Billingham, who, preventing him, pressed him to his breast. We shed tears of joy and gratitude for so unexpected a blessing from heaven.

On quitting Arthur, we went to Henry, who shared the joy caused by the arrival of our venerated friend. The next day, as Henry was more easy, he entreated us all to repair to Arthur. We yielded to his wishes, leaving him to the care of a son of Richard, whom we had engaged to relieve Henry's serv We found the marquis rather better. made my abjuration in the prison, toge with Richard, to Mr. Billingham. Art was present. Afterwards this worthy eccl astic heard our confessions in an adjoin room, and told us to prepare for holy comm nion the following day.

The succeeding morning, we repaired break of day to the marquis. Mr. Billingh there offered the divine sacrifice; he brought from Remember-Hill all that was cessary for this purpose. He administe communion to Arthur, Matilda, Richard, a myself. The fervor and entire recollection the marquis edified and consoled me. were at the height of happiness. On our turn, we gave Henry the particulars of this lightful morning. Henry was frequen delirious and his condition greatly alarmed Mr. Billingham wrote regularly to Caroline Hidalla, and spoke of our attentions to Arth which prevented her from suspecting her hu band's illness, who, until then, had maintain the correspondence. We generally passed thr hours of the morning at prison; afterwar returned to Henry; then, about six o'clock the evening, again went, at Arthur's reque to pray with him. Mr. Billingham said t rosary, to which we responded. This was devotion which Arthur preferred to mar others, "Because," said he, "it distinguish the children of the true church from all t separated sects, who reject the veneration the blessed virgin and the saints."

Arthur's strength was now returning; h nights were better; he was able to leave th bed, and even walk in his room. Our conve sation was only of religion or the queen. Th marquis' desire to die in so just a cause wa alike lively and sincere. We still esteeme ourselves happy in the midst of our misfo tunes. And from the frightful perspectiv opening before us, we flew, on rapid wing above this present life, and contemplated a fe licity which reanimated our courage. Alas there was a heart-rending sacrifice soon to b required of us; but divine goodness gave u strength to prepare for it.

Scotland seemed peaceable. Mary was ab sent; the number and influence of the partisan of the regent held those of the queen in silence The ministers, however, began to trouble th

atholics, Lord ——, the relative and friend the marquis of Rosline, made an attempt to scue the prisoners. He obtained some adntages, which renewed hostilities. Sentence f death was declared against all guilty of reellion and of attempts on the liberties of the ation: it was thus they designated the defends of the queen.

Arthur was on the fatal list. Mr. Billingham harged himself with the announcement of it to im. Henry had been delirious, for two days, ithout a lucid interval. The anguish which ent our hearts was spared him. I was witness f the interview between Mr. Billingham and ie marquis. The former, having entered the rison, gave the marquis his blessing, as usual. hen, with a calm yet sad air, "My son," said e, "the end of your sufferings is not far disnt. Redouble your courage; there is but a tep to advance, and heaven is yours."

Arthur took his hand and kissed it. Then ithout changing color, he said: "My sentence s pronounced." Mr. Billingham made no anwer. My tears and sobs replied for him. "Why o much weakness, my dear Sidney?" said he, vith an angelic smile. "Is not my fate envible? What death more sweet, more consoling nd precious could be granted me? Man, acording to the ordinary course of nature, is urprised by death when he least expects it. The languors of sickness, the insensible decay f the powers of mind and body, anticipate, nd lead to his last hour, often without being eceived as warnings to prepare for that awful moment, which will decide his fate for eternity. To me, privileged, filled with so many graces, s given the unspeakable favor of foreseeing the exact moment when I shall quit this perishable world. My health is much improved. The strength and vigor of youth permit me, on this subject, to concentrate all my thoughts, to bring to it every care and necessary disposition. Full of faith and hope, sustained by Him who redeemed me with his blood, happy to give my life a thousand times to Him, I behold with joy the eternity opening to which my soul aspires. A moment, which will be quick as lightning, shall burst the barrier of death, which shuts me out from eternal life. Without alarm or dread, I hope, with grace from above, to cast myself into the arms of him who awaits me with words of peace and love."

Celestial joy irradiated the marquis's face. The devotion of his sentiments, the unction and fervor with which he expressed them, caused for a moment in my soul, the same transport which animated his. But soon the horror of this separation returned with more violence, to overwhelm and dismay me. Matilda, leaning on the bed, with hands clasped and her eyes fastened on Arthur, preserved a deep and mournful silence. Her soul had already interiorly made, with profound grief, yet entire resignation, its sacrifice of all this world's happiness.

The marquis sympathized with us. "You suffer more than I," said he; "yet I, in my turn, feel all your sorrows." We could not reply. Mr. Billingham spoke of our friends at Remember Hill. Arthur employed the remainder of the day in prayer and writing. He addressed a letter to the duchess of Salisbury, his mother. He wrote also to his sister, to Henry, and a note to Lorenzo, containing these few words:

"My beloved Hidalla—I owe every thing to you, after God; my happiness, my faith, my consolation in my present condition. If I knew you less, I would exhort you to fortitude; but my heart, enlightened from above, already enjoys the happiness which shall replenish yours, in thinking that you shall have (if, as I hope, God will be merciful to me,) in heaven, and happy for eternity,

"Your best friend and brother,

"Arthur of Rosline."

He afterwards wrote a most affectionate and touching farewell to Matilda; and advice for his son Edmund, when he should be of an age to read it. Then, passing with Mr. Billingham to an adjoining room, he put in order all that might have disquieted his conscience. He then rejoined us, perfectly composed. We obtained leave from our kind jailer to pass this last night with Arthur. We were satisfied with regard to Lord Walsingham. Richard's two sons attended him, together with his servant; and they had told us, should Henry's reason return, we would be immediately informed of it. Mr. Billingham seeing Arthur much fatigued, begged him to take a little repose, promising to awake him at daylight, in order to say the prayers for the dying, and to make the preparation for death; this he desired. The marquis yielded to his entreaties, to which we had joined ours. He soon fell into a sweet and

peaceful sleep, which convinced us that the tranquillity he manifested, was not only apparent, but real. Mr. Billingham and Matilda continued to pray whilst he slept. I was not in a condition to imitate them. I fixed my eyes upon my friend—upon him whom I loved as a father—and I felt a rending grief, which my efforts to conceal only aggravated the more. I repeated to myself a thousand times, that in a few hours he would be torn from me forever! My troubled glance rested on a crucifix placed on Arthur's bed; a secret voice said to me, "that my Saviour, dying upon an infamous wood, had sacrificed all for me; that He asked of me my friend, and that he only required him for our mutual good; and that I ought to resign him." This thought, and the feeling of love and resignation which it produced, sensibly affected me. My heart swelled with grief and gratitude; my tears flowed gently; I fell upon my knees and prayed with fervor; submitting with resignation to the fate which menaced. The marquis slept until four o'clock; he awoke, himself, and smiling, complained mildly that they had not waked him sooner. We gathered round him; and I conjured him to grant us a moment's conversation, before commencing our prayers. He pressed my hand.

"When you see Lord Seymour," said he, "remember me to him. Let him preserve the recollection of our friendship! I shall ask his salvation of God, at that great moment, when, I trust, nothing will be refused me. Say to Henry that I have frequently thought of him. Console my dear Matilda; and comfort each other in thinking of heaven, and of the happiness experienced in dying for the faith." He walked a moment with a thoughtful air; then returning to us, "Let us pray," said he, "we can converse after."

Mr. Billingham would not permit the marquis to kneel. He seated himself on the edge of his bed, and prayed about an hour and a half; after which, he celebrated mass. We all communicated. Arthur remained absorbed in the possession of his God, until Mr. Billingham, fearing that he might become too weak, entreated him to take some refreshment. Richard placed upon the table, tea, wine, and fruit; it was Friday, nevertheless, he offered broth to the marquis, who refused it, although his state of health would have allowed him to take it. He drank a cu of tea, and some wine, and eat some biscui making us partake with him. A calm chee fulness shone upon his countenance, and h naturally lofty and proud expression was ter pered by a heavenly mildness.

"Sidney," said he, "it is not men who ha placed us in these circumstances. It is Go through his grace and mercy! Promise m never to admit resentment or revenge into yo heart. The true Catholic pardons and lov his enemies. The desire of their conversion his only revenge. I would suffer a thousan deaths, could I save them for eternity."

As he concluded these words, Richard r entered with a person whom we did not know and presenting him to the marquis, said: "Th is Lord Macdonald, who, for the same cause shares your captivity, and awaits, also, th same fate."

Lord Macdonald appeared to be about fort years of age: his step was proud; his expres sion gloomy and haughty. His countenanc brightened at sight of us. He seized the mar quis's hand. "We shall perish for the on cause," said he, "but, may the just anger o heaven attend our persecutors and their poste rity."

"I do not wish that," mildly interposed Ar thur; "rather may their eyes be opened to th truth; and, may they obtain the grace of eter nal salvation! But, let us leave them," h continued, "and think of ourselves. O! my friend, and brave companion in arms, have you maturely weighed the importance of th moment we are approaching? You are a Protestant, my lord, are you assured that you religion is infallible? Think well what wil result from it; not a life of fifty or sixty years of happiness or misery, but an eternity o either!" Lord Macdonald gazed upon the marquis, with an incredulous and surprised expression.

"Are you not, then, of my religion?"

"No; I am no longer a Protestant. I have studied, fathomed my doubts and difficulties, and have preferred to the religion which gives birth to them without removing them, that in which there are none, but in which all reposes on a firm and infallible basis. But, my esteemed friend, what matters it what I am? the moments are few; think seriously; ponder well on the price of your soul, and the nature of

ternity. Without entering into discussions, which time will not permit, suppose that we doubt, in general, of all religions; that we incline not to any in particular; is not that one which all the others agree in acknowledging capable of conducting us to the haven of salvation, more sure than those which have not his distinctive character and inestimable privilege? Divest yourself of all prejudice and human respect; these phantoms should fly before the touch of death, which scatters shadows, and leaves truth naked. Ask, in sincerity and uprightness of soul, to know the truth, and the acceptable manner of serving the supreme and awful Judge, who cites us to his tribunal; and I am confident, my lord, that He will not reject your prayer."

Lord Macdonald remained, for a moment, silent; then, "You strangely disturb me," said he; "I have often had doubts of my religion, but the desire of dying in the faith of my parents has always triumphed over such reflections. It appears to me impossible that a God infinitely good should condemn me for having adhered to the faith in which he caused me to be born."

"Because you were born in error, is this a reason that you should die in it?" replied Arthur. "Penetrate yet further into the tomb, and it will not be long before you find Catholic ancestors. Ah! my lord, if God, whose designs are impenetrable, and whose mercies absolutely free, has allowed our parents to die in error, will you refuse him the power of enlightening and saving us? There is but one way—one religion which leads to salvation: there is but one pastor—one sheepfold; and, but one door to enter into heaven. Out of the church there is no salvation. I conjure you, O! my beloved friend, reflect, and tremble at not being in this only road. It is a disinterested friend who entreats you. My soul, disengaged from all prejudice and passion, and about to rush into the arms of him who calls it, is intimately convinced of having a long time wandered along the borders of the same precipice, where I now find you. I tremble, and would give a thousand lives to make known to you the truth which shines upon me. But He, alone, who disposes of hearts, can enlighten you; He holds in his hands our present and future destinies. He anticipates, He solicits you; and no one has ever been condemned who rejected not the grace which was offered him."

Lord Macdonald, with a thoughtful air, regarded all who surrounded him. He asked who I was? "He is my ward," replied Arthur; "and this lady is my wife." "You are happy," said Lord Macdonald, with a bitter smile; "that miserable Richard has not allowed me to see any body." My looks asked Richard why he had acted thus? He understood me. "For me, my lord," said he, abruptly addressing me, "I am not an angel. I know not yet how to return good for evil. I have received from this prisoner only contempt and injuries. Every thing displeased and irritated him. He expected, no doubt, to be treated here as a prince. What would he have done, had he been wounded and badly taken care of, as was at first the marquis of Rosline? I have not received an order to admit those who demanded to see him; they had not the tickets of admission. It is true that Lady Matilda, also, was unprovided with it, but she implored this favor with such mildness and earnestness, that touched besides by the virtues of the prisoner whom she solicited to see, I at once conducted her to him; after which, for greater security, I sent her to the governor of the prison for a written permission."

Arthur smiled sadly: "Misfortune sours, and often changes the character," said he. "I would not have you to believe that I have always had this empire over myself, for such is not the case. I have but too much violence and passion with which to reproach myself; and it is time, in embracing a religion which prescribes the most tender charity, and the practice of every virtue, that I should commence to reform my life."

"You suppose that I don't know you," replied Richard; "do you not remember James Mixton who was in your service about two years? he is my nephew; you dismissed him unjustly, and were inflexible; even after you had discovered his innocence. At present he lives in the bosom of a happy family; a flourishing trade procures him an honest competency. To whom is he indebted for this? To you, my lord."

"I have only fulfilled my duty," said Arthur, "and the wrong which preceded has not been effaced from my memory. That injustice still weighs upon my heart; and to prove it to

you, see here a note which I have written for him. The difficulty of procuring his address, has alone prevented me from sending it." He took from his pocket-book a letter, which he gave to Richard, who showed it to me. It was thus conceived:

"If you still remember Arthur of Rosline, believe that he wishes not to take away, in quitting this world, either your honor, or remorse for the injury he inflicted upon you. Will you charitably forget his wrongs, and receive, in memory of him, the sum of two hundred pounds sterling, which shall be immediately remitted you by the Marchioness of Rosline, in order to increase your business? I die a Catholic, faithful to God and the queen.

"ARTHUR OF ROSLINE."

The marquis requested Matilda to perform his promise on her return to Rosline castle. He afterwards related to us, that a short time after his marriage, he had taken Mixton into his service; and that once, when he was absent, Catholic prayers had been taught to a child whom a relative had, in dying, confided to him, and who resided in his castle. He added, that discovering it on his return, he was thrown into a violent rage, suspected Mixto and ordered him immediately to quit his se vice. He afterwards learned from Matilda th she alone was guilty of it. He would no however, recall what was done, glad to seiz upon this pretext to have none but domestic of the reformed religion. Mixton was the gone, and the marquis, generous in the mids of his injustice, had given him a thousan pounds to establish himself as he should judg proper.

"Alas!" continued Lord Arthur, "Matild knows to what extent I was irritated agains her, when I formed the least suspicion that sh thought of instilling her religious principle into the mind of my child. May my death with its circumstances, expiate my sins."

He then conversed some moments with Lord Macdonald about the friends of the queen Mr. Billingham, seeing him much fatigued, suggested to him again to take a little repose. He laid down without hesitation; but, we saw clearly that this was to put an end to a conversation which diverted him from the great object of all his thoughts; for he slept not, but prayed with the most profound recollection.

TO BE CONTINUED.

PROTESTANTISM—ITS TENDENCIES AND EFFECTS.

BY JOHN B. BYRNE.

NO. III.

WE have treated of the total disregard of religion, and the degradation of morals consequent on the adoption of the principles of the sixteenth century. In accordance with our proposed plan of investigation, it remains to examine the effects of Protestantism on man's political condition. Such effects, it is true, are not conclusive evidence of or against the divine institution of any religious system:—it is not the immediate office of religion to teach mankind liberal political maxims. Having shown therefore, by Protestant authority, that Protestantism had discarded the truths and precepts of divine revelation, and hence argued that it was not of divine origin, we, perhaps, should close our investigation without seeking to learn its political consequences. But the "free and elevating influences of Protestantism" are so frequently the theme of poetic and prosaic laudation, that we think it not improper to examine how far the opinion, that the principles of the sixteenth century have improved man's political condition, is consistent with historical truth. To make this examination satisfactorily it is necessary to view the Catholic ground prior to the reformation, that we may more precisely distinguish the effects of Protestantism on the same field.

That the rulers of a nation derive their right to govern from the people, and are hence responsible to the people for the faithful exercise of their power, is the fundamental principle of civil liberty. This principle was no

scovery of the Wittemberg apostate: it was own and appreciated by the "benighted pists of the dark ages." It was recorded the writings of their jurists; it was taught their divines; and it was promulgated by eir popes. Fortescue, one of the ablest wyers of his time, and, as a writer, of no lit- authority even now, declared in the "mid- ght gloom of Romanism" that "a king is ade and ordained for the defence of the ws of his subjects, and of their bodies and ods; *whereunto he receiveth power of his peo- e, so that he cannot govern his people by any ier law.*"* St. Thomas Aquinas, the illus- ous doctor of the church, "lays it down as rtain and examined that political govern- ents and kingdoms *are not founded on divine t human law.*"† The professors of divinity Salamanca and Paris, the Jesuits in their hools, the friars and the monks, all taught at "the people had a right to depose their ler, if his power were not faithfully exer- sed." Pope Zachary proclaimed that "*the ince is responsible to the people whose favor enjoys.* Whatever he has—power, honor, hes, glory, dignity—he *has received from the ople*, and he ought to restore to the people hat he has so received from them. *The peo- e make the king, they can also unmake him.*"‡ ius from every influential quarter were the ople of the middle ages taught their civil ghts; and they proved themselves not heed- ss of the lesson.

Every where we find it acknowledged in e theory of their governments that all poli- al power emanates from the people! nor as the principle forgotten in practice. In atholic times and under Catholic influence, e ruler of England was elective, the ruler of cotland was elective, the ruler of France as elective, the ruler of Denmark was ective, the ruler of Hungary was elective, e ruler of Poland was elective, the ruler of randenburg, the basis of the present king- m of Prussia, was elective. In Catholic nes and under Catholic influence arose the e cities of Germany, and the republics of aly—her San Marino, her Venice, her Ge- a and her Florence. In Catholic times and nder Catholic influence, there was not one absolute monarchy in all Christendom. In Catholic times and under Catholic influence, were erected all the defences of individual liberty—the habeas corpus, trial by jury, and the franchise; and then too, was established the principle, for which our patriot fathers bled, and which has made our own land free and independent—the principle that taxation must depend on representation. It was in Catholic times and by Catholic saints that the civil rights of the people were clearly defined and firmly established. A Catholic pen framed the great charter of English freedom, and Catholic barons and prelates forced its acknowledgement from a reluctant sovereign. In Catholic times and under Catholic influence, against every invading Edward there was "a Bruce of Bannockburn;" against every attack on civil liberty there was an adequate defence.

The political condition of the people of the middle ages must be ascribed to the liberalizing influence of their religion. The offices of state, the records, the charters,—the whole machinery of civil power was entrusted to the clergy. Various were the efforts made by ambitious monarchs to induce these to abuse their trust; but in vain. The body of the clergy were selected from the people, and the people felt that their rights were safe in clerical hands. They saw that those who would oppress them—such monarchs as Rufus, or Charles, or Pedro—were ever at variance with the ministers of their religion; whilst the fathers of the people—the good Alfred and holy Edward of England, or the wise Charles and sainted Louis of France—were the most devoted children of the church. They beheld in their pontiffs, in Gregory, in Alexander and in Innocent, men exposing themselves to every danger in defence of the people's liberty. They found in the Catholic church a power to shield them from oppression, and a priesthood to guard the battlements of freedom. Here, therefore, they treasured their all—their temporal as well as their eternal welfare. They were never betrayed. "The church of Rome was an independent, distinct, and often an opposing power, in every country, to the civil power; a circumstance in the social economy of the middle ages, to which Europe is perhaps *indebted for her civilization and freedom*—for not being in the state of barbarism and slavery of the east, and of every

* De Laud. Leg. Ang. C. 13.
† Bellarmine de Potes. C. 21.
‡ Avent. Annal. Bio. lib. iii, p. 222.

country, ancient and modern, in which the religious and civil power have been united in one government." *

The liberal political institutions of the middle ages are not the only evidences of the "elevating influences" of Catholicity;—a surer test is found in the social condition of the people. The "papists of that long night of barbarism" had no social cankers eating into the vitals of the body-politic; and hence, they were in "blissful ignorance" of all the modern contrivances to conceal or hush the complaining misery of the mass. "During the middle ages, and prior to the reformation, the Catholic church, by insisting on gospel charity, on the merit of good works, and especially on the merit of voluntary poverty and self-denial, had confined within some bounds the accumulative propensity of our nature, modified and restrained the empire of capital, *and compelled it, through considerations drawn from a future life, to make rich and ample provision for the poor. The great wealth of the church was, to no inconsiderable extent, a fund for the poor. . . . . No poor law was then needed.*"†

The lands were adorned with noble institutions, the mansions of charity; and to these gathered the lame and the blind, the feeble and the unfortunate:—all found a welcome and a home. The most tender devotion of woman and the highest energy of man were exerted to alleviate and to remedy every misfortune incident to humanity. The generous, wide-spread charity, inspired by the Catholic church, made the poor man's burden light, and life's struggle easy. "Truly, a splendor of God, did dwell in those old rude, veracious ages; did inform, more and more, with a heavenly nobleness all departments of their work and life."‡

In Catholic times, and under the influence of the Catholic church, the political liberties of the people were amply secured:—the nations felt not a single tyrant's arm, nor knew the "divinity of despotism." The reformation came. What evidences did it afford of the "elevating influences of Protestantism?" Let this one fact answer.

Every government, which adopted the principles of the sixteenth century, became an absolute despotism; and, with one very dou ful exception, they remain such to this ho In Protestant times and under Protestant inf ence; the ruler of Denmark is a despot, ruler of Sweden is a despot, the ruler of H land is a despot, the ruler of Prussia is despot—the Protestant rulers of Protest Europe are despots. England alone for the shadow of an exception. But was Her VIII, a supporter of the "usages and la of the good and holy Edward," of the C tholic Charter of Ranymede, the English Co stitution? Was Elizabeth? Let her "M jesty's Bench" answer? And yet who f more effectually the "*elevating* influences Protestantism?" Tell us, ye Puritans, we the two Charles tyrants? Tell us, American were the Georges patrons of liberty? Explai ye starving millions, the blessings of "Pr testant ascendency?" A national debt, drai ing the life-blood from the people; a poor-la system, "that hangs like a dark cloud on t vision of every poor man in England"*— tax on every rag of poverty, on every mors of food, even on every ray of sunshine th lights the peasant's cheerless hut—these a the direct effects in Great Britain of the fr and elevating Protestant influence," and thes forsooth, form the exception to the tyrann exercised over Protestant Europe.

It cannot be said that the principles of th reformation afford no grounds for the charg of enslaving those nations which adopte them. That despotism every where followe the anti-religious movement of the sixteent century is all-sufficient testimony, that Pr testantism is essentially opposed to politic freedom. The parents of that movement di all they could to disfranchise the mass. The hedged round the throne of the despot with religious barrier, which it was sacrilegiou impiety even to touch: they taught that th people's tyrant was the anointed of the Lord— that an attack on him was an outrage agains Heaven. Cranmer declared that "*the king' right to govern did not depend upon any engage ment on his coronation;* that *his crown bein given him by God Almighty*, could not by failure in the administration be forfeited eithe to church or state." † In the tenth sermo of the first book of Homilies, it is laid dow

* Notes of a Traveller, p. 192.
† Brownson's Rev. April, p. 279. ‡ Carlyle.

* Lester. † Collier, Ec. His. Vol. ii, p. 220.

t "the high power and authority of kings, th their making of laws, judgments and ices, are the ordinances, *not of men, but of d.*" In the second book (*p.* 403) we are l that "rebels do justly fall headlong into l if they die [in battle], and live in shame d fearful conscience, though they escape." ow consoling would such doctrines have en to the heroes of our revolution—the triot "rebels" of '76! How willingly ould Washington, La Fayette, and Carroll, ve perilled their all for American freedom, Cranmer had been their political or religious ide! But for more. We are informed hat absolute princes, *such as the sovereigns England, are a species of divinity.*"* Bow wn, Protestantism, to your little deities! neel, as your proudest did, to the vacant air of an Elizabeth, and pray that you may saved from "monkish ignorance and superstion," that the "benighted papists" may exrience the "elevating influences of Protestism," and abandon their "soul-destroying, ng-deposing doctrines" of political liberty.

Let it not be assumed that these things are of the past. Even to this day, the canons the establishment declare that "*Monarchy of divine right.*" Whilst the sovereign is ad of church and state, whilst it is proimed as a fundamental principle that "the ng can do no wrong," England must conue to rank among the despotisms of Prostant Europe.

We need go no farther. Wherever Prostantism has completely triumphed, man s been enslaved:—it is the business of Prostantism to prove that the fault is not always rs. We have shown that it was hers in ngland; and in England alone does she prent even the semblance of a liberal polity. Sweden the king is the head of the church, e political machinery is mostly in the hands the clergy, and yet the people are enslaved. Denmark, in Holland, throughout all the rotestant nations on the continent, the cirmstances are the same, yet the people are slaved.

The fact is well worthy of notice, that in ery Protestant kingdom of Europe, the esblished religion is merely an engine of state. Prussia, the church was remodelled by a military despot for the purpose of effectually serving as a political machine. And Lord Molesworth informs us, "that the blind obedience which is destructive of natural liberty, is *more firmly established in the northern kingdoms by the entire and sole dependence of the clergy upon the prince,* without the interference of any spiritual superior (as that of the pope among Romanists), than in the countries which remainded Catholic." "The Protestant church on the continent, as a power, has become merely *an administrative body of clerical functionaries acting under the orders of the civil power or state.*"*

Protestantism has erected the despotisms of Europe, and her influence preserves them. She has wedded herself to human greatness and to human power. Nor is it to be wondered at. A merely human institution must be supported by merely human means; and by these alone has Protestantism sought to be sustained. Her kingdom is of this world. How different is Catholicity! Never courting political power, and never fearing it, she goes sublimely onward in the fulfilment of her heavenly mission. Oppressed, attacked, slandered, in every age, she has still battled against the world and against the world's seductions, and has still triumphed over passion, prejudice, and power. An Almighty arm defends her—her kingdom *is not* of this world.

It may perhaps be urged, that the enslaving political principles of the reformation have affected Catholic governments, and hence, whatever the faults of Protestantism, Catholic communities have adopted them in their civil codes. We confess that in Catholic countries where the influence of the church was by any means lessened, the rulers have made some approaches towards absolute power. But let it be remembered, that this has always been done in spite of Catholicity: let it not be forgotten that Protestantism taught the lesson; that she made it necessary in many instances as a defence against herself, and that even now, after three centuries of her influence and example, there is not one absolute sovereign in the Catholic world. The emperor of Austria alone assumes a too extensive power, yet wields it so well that he is styled "the father of his people." A Catholic nation cannot be re-

* Com. Jour. 18, 19. J. 1.

* Notes of a Traveller.

duced to a state of passive submission under despotic oppression. In vain do their monarchs essay to assume the "divinity" which Protestantism right freely offers. Compare Austria with Prussia, or any of the Catholic states of Germany with those under Protestantism: compare Belgium with Holland, or Italy with Denmark, and where do we find the evidence of a "free and elevating influence!" The Catholic governments have constitutional limits; the Protestant are all absolute despotisms. See Switzerland—once all Catholic and all free. The Protestant cantons now possess scarcely the forms of liberty, while the Catholic are in the full enjoyment of their republican institutions. And yet here there have been the same circumstances, the same influences at work on the same people: the only difference existing in their religion. Those who preserved the faith of their fathers are free: those who abandoned it are fast being enslaved.

In vain do we seek for facts to support the loud claims of Protestantism. Everywhere she has forged manacles for her votaries, and "their clanking may be heard" throughout every land where she has obtained power.

If it could be discovered that the despotism of Protestant Europe is more than counterbalanced by the improvement of the social condition of the people, there might be some real grounds for asserting the elevating influence of Protestantism. All concede the principle, that "the government which provides for the happiness of the greatest number is the best; but there are few in our land would acknowledge that such happiness is best secured under the iron rule of despotism. Let us see, however, if the influence of Protestantism has displayed its elevating qualities in the improvement of the social state of man whilst depriving him of his political rights. What is the social aspect of Protestant Europe?

In Denmark, "*the people are sunk in sloth and poverty*, though occupying the richest soil and most advantageous situation in the north of Europe."* "In Norway and Sweden, the peasantry are constantly compelled to mix bark with their bread, and even this expedient has not always preserved whole families and neighborhoods from perishing together of famine."†

In Holland, the mass of the people are even "more wretched than the paupers of England." Throughout the Protestant portion of the continent, misery generally prevails; the few who have even a sufficiency of life's goods form the exception. But we are told to admire the wide diffusion of knowledge; to estimate the social advantages of education. Prussian colleges and Prussian learning are pointed out as triumphant evidences of the "enlightenment, and, therefore, elevating influences of Protestantism." The people are enslaved, wretched—but they are educated! What is education worth to a man who dare not breathe one free aspiration; whose whole existence is a continual struggle against starvation? But what kind of an education is it that we are called on to admire? "The social value or importance of the Prussian arrangements for diffusing national scholastic education has been evidently overrated; for now that the whole system has been in the fullest operation in society upon a whole generation, we see morals and religion in a more unsatisfactory state in this very country than in almost any other in the north of Europe: we see *no where* a people in a more abject political and civil condition, or with less free agency in their social economy. *A national education which gives a nation neither religion, nor morality, nor civil liberty, nor political liberty*, is an education not worth having."* "Elevating influences!" ye starving millions of Protestant Europe, where are they! Ye bondmen, where are they!

In every country under "these elevating influences" we "find a viciously organized society, which perverts the minds, corrupts the hearts, and debilitates the bodies of its members." The "Protestant ascendency" in England cannot boast even the shadow of an exception here—it presents the most gloomy picture of social evils to be found in the whole story of civilized man. "We find statements, made by English noblemen of the highest character and standing, clearly proving that British slavery is really much worse than even the ingeniously invented falsehoods of foreign and domestic abolitionists represent negro slavery in this country."† One-sixth of the whole population are paupers. "Tell us not hereafter that slavery exists not on the soil of

* Laing. † Macaulay's Miss. p. 113.

* Notes of a Traveller. † Amos Kendall.

land . . . . It does . . . . it is rank, foul, slavery."* Chartist meetings, Manches- iots, and Rebecca wars, are but the symp- s of a deep, corroding, social canker. "So y thousand set in work-houses . . twelve dred thousand workers in England alone; r cunning right hand lamed, lying idle their sorrowful bosom; their hopes out- s, share of this fair world, shut in by ow cells. They sit there pent up as in a id enchantment; glad to be imprisoned enchanted, that they may not perish ved." Need we recall all the terrible de- of social misery, of wide spread desola- and sorrow, recorded in the report of the ritish poor law Commission." "England ying of inanition;" not because she has a dense population, for Belgium is much e thickly peopled, and yet the poor are vided for—but she dies of inanition be- se she is experiencing "the elevating in- nces" of Protestant ascendency.

Elevating influences," indeed! Protest- sm has established the despotisms of Eu- e, and she upholds them to this hour. She hath become a political machine in the hands of oppression—she hath entailed civil and social ruin on the nations which adopted her principles, and yet, without a blush, boasts of "free and elevating influences." "Where are they—echo answers where!"

We have now completed our investigation into the tendencies and effects of Protestantism. We have only noticed some of the prominent facts. Volumes might be filled with evidences of the degrading and destroying spirit to which we have only desired to attract attention; but we believe sufficient has been done to sustain our opening assertion, that wherever Protestantism has been finally established, it has shed a blighting influence on the religious, on the moral, and on the political condition of man. It has engendered a doubt and disbelief of the divine truths of the gospel; it has taught its votaries to disregard the precepts of Christianity; it has destroyed the civil liberties and social happiness of men. Can it then claim to be a divine institution? Its tendencies and effects are inscribed on the history of the past as they will be on the history of the future: they are, INFIDELITY, IMMORALITY, SLAVERY AND MISERY. "By their fruits ye shall know them."

* Theller.

Translated for the U. S. Cath. Magazine.

HISTORY OF THE PAPACY.

Continued from page 319.

NASTASIUS was succeeded by Innocent I, probably on the 29th of April, 402. This he second pope from whom we possess any hentic decretals. They were addressed to erent bishops who consulted him in relation natters of ecclesiastical discipline. One of most important affairs that called for his ntion after his elevation to the chair of er was the defence of the illustrious St. John rysostom, archbishop of Constantinople. is distinguished prelate, having become ob- ious to the Empress Eudoxia, through the representations and intrigues of his ene- s, was banished from Constantinople in , after having been condemned at the fa- us meeting of the *Oak*, by Theophilus, patriarch of Alexandria, and other bishops. Theophilus presented St. Chrysostom because he supposed him favorable to the Origenists, against whom he himself had acted with a very immoderate zeal.

The holy patriarch was soon recalled from exile; but a new and more violent persecution awaited him. Having incurred the displeasure of the empress by his denunciation of the licentious and superstitious exhibitions that took place at Constantinople, he was again exiled to Armenia. The unjust treatment which he suffered, awakened a general interest in his behalf, both among the clergy and laity. Pope Innocent, to whom the holy prelate had appealed, and whose favor Theophilus also

had endeavored to secure, employed every means that wisdom and charity could suggest, to restore peace. He censured the violence and injustice of the proceedings against St. Chrysostom, and addressed an epistle to the latter, encouraging him to console himself with the testimony of a good conscience, until a more public justification of his conduct could be effected. Being afterwards informed that the enemies of the saint throughout the east opposed all those who advocated his cause, he solicited, though in vain, the emperor Honorius to convoke, in concert with his brother Arcadius, a general council at Thessalonica, to stifle the seeds of division. After the death of Chrysostom, which occurred during his exile, in the year 407, Innocent, faithful to his principles, refused to communicate with the oriental bishops, until they had paid a due honor to the memory of the deceased prelate. This measure of the pontiff, which annulled the iniquitous sentence they had passed against Chrysostom, dates from a period long anterior to those false decretals which the ignorance of modern sectaries has represented to be the origin of appeals to Rome.

The attention which the pope bestowed on the affairs of the east, did not diminish his activity in the west. The Novatians, not content with being tolerated at Rome, attempted to acquire the ascendency; they were banished thence, together with the Donatists. Many letters, addressed by Innocent to the bishops who applied to him for assistance in the different emergencies of their churches, display his zeal in maintaining throughout Italy, among the Gauls, and elsewhere, the ancient discipline and the observance of the canons.

In the year 408, Alaric, king of the Goths, besieged Rome, and reduced it to the utmost extremity; pestilence was added to famine, and these two scourges destroyed more than the swords of the enemy; the inhabitants procured the raising of the siege, by an immense sum of gold and silver. The succeeding year, Alaric being displeased with Honorius, returned to Rome. The people, having no means of defence, sought protection from the pope, who was deputed, to effect a treaty of peace between the Gothic leader and the emperor; but the negotiation proved fruitless. In the year 410, Rome was taken, sacked and pillaged, with the exception of the churches of St. Peter and St. Paul. But, in the midst of these excesse a singular circumstance occurred. Alaric, ha ing learned that a great number of gold a silver vases belonging to St. Peter's churc had been secreted in a certain house, order that they should all be returned to that basilic the translation was made with much pom the vases were carried one by one on the u covered heads of the bearers, and on each si marched a line of soldiers with drawn sword the Romans and the barbarians chanting tog ther, hymns to the praise of God. Innocer who had remained at Ravenna, to avoid w nessing the disasters at Rome, returned thith when the storm had passed away; he resum his functions with renewed zeal, and cor forted his people by his instructions and t wisdom of his administration.

Another subject of affliction to this pont was the heresy of Pelagius, which arose durir his time. This Pelagius, a native of Gre Britain, dogmatized against grace, assertir that man could be sinless, and easily keep t commandments of God, if such were his wi Innocent approved and confirmed by his auth rity the judgments pronounced by the counci of Carthage and of Milevis against the do trine of this enemy of divine grace. The ma ner in which the fathers of this council la before the pontiff, the common father and g neral guardian of the faithful, the deplorab state of the churches in Africa and Palestin which had been ravaged by the Pelagians, very remarkable. But, if this recourse to I nocent proves the opinion held by all t bishops of the world with regard to the see Rome, the answers which the pontiff returne express very clearly his own sentiments on t subject. Some months afterwards, Innocer wrote to St. Jerome, to console him for t shocking violence of the Pelagians, towar the pious persons under his care. On the 12 of March, 417, he went to receive in heave the reward of his glorious labors.

We have seen by the preceding details th Innocent enlightened and edified the Christia world by his virtues: however, the memory this holy pope has been assailed by two rid culous calumnies which acquire importanc from their connection with the name of a su cessor of St. Peter. The first is that he dissem bled with the Pelagians, and even took the part, though every thing proves the co

y: the second, that he permitted the pagans eopen their temples for the purpose of in- ing them to defend Rome against Alaric. grief which Innocent felt at these two umstances accelerated the death of this holy tiff.

t. Zozimus, a Greek by birth, was elected the eighteenth of March, 417. Celestius, isciple of Pelagius, having visited Rome, e him, in writing, a confession of faith, ich appeared to be Catholic; Pelagius, on part, wrote from Jerusalem a sophistical er; and the Pope, deceived by the artifices hese heretics, and believing that they had rned to the faith of the church, showed m some indulgence. Being subsequently leceived by the African bishops, he con- ned the sentence of his predecessor against Pelagians; his solemn decree, which bears e, April, 418, was carried into Africa, by acolyte named Leo, who, on this occasion, ame acquainted with St. Augustine, and om we shall see hereafter in the chair of er. On the thirtieth of the same month, zimus obtained from the emperor Honorius escript, expelling the Pelagians from Rome. us, the pope published to all Christendom horror for heresy. From the year 417, zimus had given the vicariate of the holy , in Gaul, to Patroclus, bishop of Arles; s step was a novelty in that country, and ited great disputes. The letter which con- red this commission on the bishops of Arles, nted him the exclusive power of giving ers of recommendation to travelling eccle- stics, authorising them to be admitted to nmunion out of their own country. It nted him also the privilege of ordaining hops in the provinces of Narbonne and enne, and of selecting whomsoever he ased for the decision of affairs, excepting ly those cases, the importance of which re- ires a reference to the pope; these have en since called *major causes*, reserved to the ly see. The sucessors of Zozimus, to St. egory the Great, augmented the powers ached to the vicariate of Gaul. Towards end of his pontificate, Zozimus had a dis- te with the bishops of Africa, touching the peal made to Rome by the priest Appiarius, ndemned by his bishop for atrocious crimes; t that these prelates contested the right of peal to the holy see, but because they took advantage of the regulations of their province; regulations drawn up to prevent the abuse introduced by clerks and priests, who made these appeals too lightly, and in cases already well judged. It were idle to cite these regulations against the right of appeal in itself: a power so ancient in the church, at least as to its essence, although not always exercised with the same activity, or to the same extent, by those who possessed it, cannot be called an usurped power, when circumstances, the wants of the Church, and its discipline require its more frequent and habitual exercise. Besides, these regulations regarded only clerks and priests, because the bishops freely appealed to Rome. Zozimus gave permission to bless the paschal candle in particular parishes, a ceremony previously performed only in cathedral churches. This learned and zealous pontiff died on the twenty-sixth of December, 418, after a reign of one year, nine months and nine days.

Two days afterwards, the clergy elected St. Boniface I, a Roman, son of the priest Jucundus, and he was consecrated on the twenty-ninth of December. Eulalius, archdeacon of the church of Rome, and third anti-pope, discontented because this election was unfavorable to his views, assured, besides of the prefect Symmachus, profiting by the time which was occupied in the funeral ceremonies of Zozimus, accompanied by several deacons and some priests, seized on the church of Lateran, where he was ordained by three bishops belonging to his own party. The emperor Honorius, influenced by Symmachus, on the third of January, 419, granted a rescript, commanding Boniface to depart from Rome; afterwards, on the representation of the clergy, he appointed a council, and ordered that Boniface and Eulalius should both quit the city until he made known his decision. The impatience of the anti-pope could brook no delay; notwithstanding the prohibitions of the emperor, he re-entered Rome on the eighteenth March, and was driven thence by the people. Honorius approved this act of justice, and confirming the election of Boniface by a rescript of the third April, suffered him to return to Rome and resume the government of the Church, with the approbation of the bishops. Boniface, during his pontificate, ordained thirteen priests, three deacons and

thirty-six bishops. Although naturally gentle, he vigorously opposed the bishops of Constantinople, who were ambitious to extend their jurisdiction over Illyria, and other provinces actually appertaining to the empire of the east, but which had always depended on the patriarchate of the west. He knew also how to maintain the rights of his vicar in Thessaly and Greece, and compelled the new bishops of those countries to have their election confirmed by this vicar, bishop of Thessalonica, conformably to the ancient discipline. He also declared the metropolitan church of Narbonne and Vienne in Gaul, independent of the primacy of Arles. There was a holy friendship between Boniface and St. Augustine, who dedicated to him an excellent work in four books, against the errors of the Pelagians. This Pope died on the twenty-sixth of October, 423, having reigned four years and ten months.

The reign of St. Celestine I, a Roman, who succeeded Boniface, the same year, lasted eight years, five months and three days. This wise and prudent pontiff worthily filled the pontifical chair. The affair of the priest, Appiarius, which had commenced under Zozimus, was now brought to a close; the bishop of Africa, it is true, on this occasion urged Celestine not to receive such appeals too easily; but their request even is a new proof of their submission. The pope strongly opposed the heresy of Nestorius, bishop of Constantinople, who asserted that the Blessed Virgin was not the Mother of God, but only of Christ; that the Word became incarnate by its union with the flesh of Christ, which he inhabited as a temple; that he did not die, and merely resuscitate the body in which he had dwelt. Celestine separated him from the communion of the church, and by his excellent instructions, sustained the clergy and people of Constantinople against the heresiarch. This matter was considered in a council at Rome, in the year 430, and the following year in the third œcumenical council of Ephesus, at which St. Cyril presided in the name of the pope. The same year also, some Gallican priests having attacked the doctrine of St. Augustine, after his death, Celestine wrote to the bishops of Gaul an admirable letter, in which he pays a glorious tribute to his memory. This pontiff also expelled t Pelagians from Italy, forbade the Novatia the use of those churches which they had r tained in Rome, and repressed the rising here of the semi-Pelagians.

He sent St. Germain of Auxerre to Engla which was then infected with the errors Pelagius; Palladius was directed to Scotlan and St. Patrick to Ireland, to carry thither t light of faith and the fire of divine charity.

The institution of the *Introit* of the mass attributed to St. Celestine. He died on the 16 of April, 432. His letters are preserved in t collection of the councils.

What we have said of the council of Eph sus affords an opportunity of alluding to t custom of *acclamations*, which still subsists ecclesiastical assemblies. It arose from a cu tom of the Roman people, who in their pub meetings testified their opinion in this wa and whose acclamations were carefully r corded. The same practice was also intr duced into the councils, for it is mentioned the acts of the councils of Ephesus, that wh the letter of Celestine had been read, all t bishops cried out: "This decision is just; Celestine, a new Paul; to Cyril, a new Pau to Celestine, preserver of the faith; to Cele tine, who agrees with the council; the counc returns thanks to Celestine; a Celestine, a C ril, one faith in the council, one faith throug out the earth." Acclamations also took pla in the churches. St. Augustine having d clared to the people assembled in that of Hi po, that he wished the priest Heraclius to be h successor, the people exclaimed twenty-thr times, *God be praised, Jesus Christ be blessed* and sixteen times, *Jesus graciously hear us, li Augustine!* As St. Augustine proceeded, the made a great number of other acclamation at length, he added: It only remains for me request your subscription to this act; testi your consent by some *acclamation:* and t people cried out *Amen* twenty-five times; *it just, it is reasonable*, twenty times; *Amen, Ame* fourteen times. The clapping of hands wa also witnessed in the churches on certa occasions. When St. Gregory Nazianze preached at Constantinople, he was often inte rupted by the people, who applauded him b clapping their hands, and by their acclamation

TO BE CONTINUED.

ST. HENRY, EMPEROR.

15TH JULY.

EVERY rank of society has furnished saints to the church of Christ: the throne elf, encompassed as it is with obstacles to liness, has given to Christianity some of its ost accomplished models. The middle ages emselves, though disturbed by wars and fac- ns, abounded in personages of exalted piety ing in the world. Henry II, of Germany, e subject of the present sketch, possessed all e virtues that characterize the perfect Chris- n, and they rendered him "beloved of God d men." His birth occurred in 972. He as the son of Henry, duke of Bavaria, and Ghisella, daughter of Conrad, king of Bur- ndy. His education was entrusted to a holy d learned prelate of that period, St. Wolf- ang, bishop of Ratisbon. Under his care, the oung Henry rapidly advanced both in human nowledge and in piety; and when death se- arated the preceptor from his pupil, the latter roved his tender attachment by marks of sin- ere grief.

In 995, one year after the demise of St. Wolf- ang, Henry succeeded his father in the duke- om of Bavaria, which, at that time, com- rised the whole of his dominions. But in 002, the emperor, Otho III, second cousin to ur saint, having died unmarried, his crown wakened the ambition of the more powerful rinces of Germany. Henry was chosen to ill his place, and was consecrated king of Ger- nany, at Mayence, by archbishop Willegise, n the 8th of July of the same year. He owed is election to the reputation for piety, justice nd moderation which he enjoyed, and which ecured him the suffrages of the prelates and obles. The wisdom he afterwards displayed n the administration of public affairs, as well s his royal qualities and military skill, fully ustified the high idea that had been formed f his character. To escape the dangers to which he knew human grandeur to be exposed, e had recourse to prayer and the meditation f the divine law. In the frequent performance f these exercises, he acquired the knowledge of his responsible obligations, and obtained the divine aid to discharge them with scrupulous exactness. To ward off sentiments of pride, and prevent the delusion which is so often the offspring of rank, he assiduously cultivated humility, and kept constantly before his eyes the designs of Providence in calling him to so elevated a situation. He thus conceived an ardent zeal to promote the divine glory, the exaltation of the church, the tranquillity of his kingdom, and the peace and happiness of his subjects.

Several councils assembled at his request, for the regulation of discipline, the enforcement of the canons and the general good of the church: that of Dortmond, in Westphalia, was held in 1005, and that of Frankfort, in 1007. By the latter the church of Bamberg was erected into an episcopal see.

Henry was several times compelled to wage war; the motives which actuated him in his military operations were the welfare and protection of his people, the defence of religion and the general interests of Christendom. Twice he had to repress a revolt caused by Hardwicke, a chieftain of Lombardy, whom he at last deprived of his possessions, in punishment of his crime; but he left him the enjoyment of life and liberty.

In 1013, after his second victory over this rebellious vassal, Henry spent the Christmas holidays at Pavia, and thence proceeded to Rome, which he entered on the 2d of February, 1014. He was received at the church of St. Peter, by the pope, Benedict VIII, who crowned him emperor: his pious consort, St. Cunegunda, shared the same honor. On this occasion, Henry confirmed and renewed the donations made to the holy see by his predecessors: they consisted of the city of Rome, the exarchate of Ravenna, and several other demesnes situated in Italy. At the prayer of the emperor, this same pontiff ordered that in future the creed should be said at mass in Rome as elsewhere; which custom was not before observed in that

city; its preservation from heresy having never required that testimony of its faith.

Our saint was again at Pavia during the solemnities of Easter, and after putting an end to the troubles of Lombardy, he crossed the Alps to return to Germany. In his journey, he visited several monasteries to which he gave signal proofs of his pious liberality: to the abbey of Cluny he presented the golden crown, set with gems, which the holy father had given him. This devotion of the saint to distribute alms, to build churches and endow religious establishments, displeased many of his relatives, who, not content with expressing their disapprobation of the use he made of his revenues, took up arms with the view of expelling him from the throne. Henry in this juncture exhibited the abilities of a general and the piety of a saint; he defeated the forces marshalled against him, pardoned his enemies and restored their possessions which he had seized.

Some time previous he had been obliged to march against the pagan inhabitants of Poland and Sclavonia, who had devastated the diocess of Meersburg, and laid several churches in ruins. To secure the protection of the Lord of hosts, the pious emperor placed his troops under the patronage of the holy martyrs Laurence, George and Adrian; he received the holy communion with all his army, and vowed that, should heaven crown his arms with success, he would restore the see of Meersburg. His prayer was heard: the three saints, it is related, appeared during the conflict and fought at the head of the imperial troops: the barbarians were seized with a panic and surrendered at discretion. Being master of Poland and Bohemia, he sent zealous missionaries into those countries, to bring into the fold of Christ the idolaters that had not yet been converted. He also co-operated in the same object, with St. Stephen, king of Hungary: but it is not true that he procured the conversion of Stephen, for Stephen was born of Christian parents, though the contrary is often asserted.

Henry's presence was again needed in Italy to repel the enemies of the Christian name, the Saracens, and to suppress the troubles caused by an anti-pope. The Turks and the Greeks, their allies, being driven from Italy, the emperor appointed governors in the provinces which he had conquered; he paid a visit to the monastery of Mount Cassino, and then repaired to Rome, where he was received with the greatest honors. It was during his stay in this city that he was attacked, in the thigh, with a painful contraction of the nerves which rendered him lame during the remainder of his life.

After his return to Germany, the zealous monarch undertook the visit of his dominions, and every where he made rich presents to churches, relieved the distress of the indigent, corrected abuses, prevented injustices, guarded the people from oppression, and diffused on all sides the good odour of his piety. The humility of our saint was so remarkable, that it was said never to have been surpassed on the throne. He deemed his best friends those who freely admonished him of his faults, and he was prompt in repairing the injury he might have unconsciously occasioned. He had been led, by some courtiers, to entertain suspicions contrary to the honor of his queen; but on being convinced of her innocence, he duly atoned for his credulity; and on another occasion, he hesitated not to ask pardon, on his knees, of a bishop against whom his mind had been prejudiced by designing persons. Henry shunned sensual pleasures with abhorrence; he debarred himself even innocent amusements as not free from danger, and, as history attests, he left to the world the rare example of the practice of continency in the married state. So fond was he of retirement and of religious exercises, that he made two attempts to abdicate the imperial crown, and enter the sanctuary or the cloister. He applied, in the first instance to Richard, abbot of St. Vannes, at Verdun, who, not to reject altogether the pressing solicitations of the monarch, asked him whether he was ready to obey him in every thing, and upon his affirmative answer, he commanded him to assume again the reins of government; and when he wished to be received among the canons of Strasburg, the bishop dissuaded him, assuring him that his vocation was to sanctify himself on the throne, by procuring the welfare of his subjects, and promoting their salvation. Henry loved to assist at the public offices of the church, especially in buildings dedicated under the invocation of the Blessed Virgin, for whom he had a great devotion, honoring her as his patroness.

The death of this holy prince took place in e year 1024, at the castle of Grone, near alberstadt, on the night of the 13th and lth of July. His body was interred in the athedral of Bamberg, which he had erec-d. Many miracles wrought by his inter-cession, led to his canonization, in 1152, by Pope Eugene III. His feast is celebrated on the 15th of July. The city of Basle honors him as the patron saint of the dio-cess, and observes his festival with great so-lemnity.

From the Dublin Review.

SUPPRESSION OF MONASTERIES.

F we compare the existing ideas concerning the monastic state, with the sentiments of ır ancestors more than three centuries ago, e shall find that the opinions of men have ldom undergone so total a change. Then, ıd for nine centuries before, the monks were nown, by actual, daily contact; and, for the ıost part were loved and venerated: now, ıey are too often viewed only through the istorted medium of romance: they have be-ome objects of ridicule; sometimes, even, of xecration. Unhappily, few have the patience, ven if they have the opportunity, of endeav-ring to rectify their judgment, by an exami-ation into the grounds of both opinions. ome account for this contradiction by the range idea, that our ancestors, for nine hun-red years, were deficient in common sense or rdinary virtue; while others, without trou-ling themselves about remoter ages, arrive at nce at the conclusion, that the monastic tate, however good and holy in its com-ıencement, had really fallen into the deplora-le condition of which they have heard so ıany recitals. By these gratuitous supposi-ons, we may somewhat conceal, but we can-ot remove, the difficulty. If we love truth, we would not mistake assertion for argu-ıent, but would impartially learn the real work-ıgs of the monastic system, we must shake ff for a while the thoughts peculiar to our ge; we must patiently scrutinize the past, ıust learn its peculiar circumstances, its ideas, ıs feelings; thus, at last, we may hope, that he main features of the edifice, that will rise efore us, will be such as was once a reality o fifty generations of our forefathers. Let us hen turn to these by-gone times: let us leave the age of the Hanoverian dynasty; pass the Stuarts and the commonwealth; and look on England, its people, and its scenery, as it was in the days of the sixth Henry. It was a time when England was free, but not licentious; when the greater part of its population, instead of being crowded together in dense masses, were scattered in hamlets over the face of the country. The grim Norman fortress had been deserted for the magnificent palace; the comfort-able homesteads of yeomen and franklin were thickly grouped around the monastic pile. Merchants assembled in princely halls; citi-zens were busied with an increasing com-merce; and the peasant was cheered in his toil with the frequent holiday, the rude plenty, and the cheerful hearth. All spoke of peace, when suddenly the storm of civil war burst upon the land. At once all was amazement and clamor. The adverse cries of York and Lancaster are heard from afar; beacons gleam upon the heights; the noble arms in haste; once more the lance is in rest, the moat is filled, the quiver stored. Armies encounter, dynasties rise and fall; but not till one hun-dred thousand Englishmen had shed their blood, did the storm abate. Allayed for a while, it again thickened, nor was the field of Bos-worth the last of its ravages. It passed at length, and franklin and yeomen, burgher and peasant seemed as blithe, as prosperous as ever. But the palaces and castles, the hearths of the high and chivalrous—all now are silent, or echoing only to the voice of strangers. The old barons, the iron of frame and princely of heart, were now a departed race; from the victims of the first battle of St. Alban's to the king-maker, or the heir apparent of the third

Richard, nearly all had gone to their account. For them there was no quarter, death reaped his full harvest. In the cities of the continent, the duke of Exeter and one or two others, were seen for a while, barefooted, and begging their bread. They too disappeared; were heard of no more. A few yet sojourned in the halls of their fathers; but their spirit was crushed by the misfortunes of their order: they and the gentry, that served to recruit their ranks, were alike the passive servants of the crown. Their power and influence were gone; were now the appendages of royalty. Wo to the man that dared to affect an appearance of state, to emulate the pomp of his ancestors; if he yet possessed large domains, he was dangerous, and like the hapless duke of Buckingham, must atone for his power on the scaffold; if less to be feared, he was weakened still more, by the operation of the statute of maintenance. It was a painful sight to see how disdainfully the monarch trampled down every token of spirit. Under Henry VIII, the task was completed: the nobles were literally the slaves of the crown.

In the house of commons, the representatives of the counties were chiefly gentry, and partook of the servility of the lords. Of the burgesses, many were chosen through the influence of the court; and from both of these classes the infection seized upon the rest. For a while, Sir Thomas More endeavored to infuse his own spirit into this degraded mass. To the consternation of Wolsey, and to the grievous displeasure of Henry, they had once the boldness to make a feeble opposition. When Sir Thomas Audley supplanted More in the chair of the commons, the house relapsed into its former obsequiousness.

In Norman times, the barons dared singly to beard the power of the king; more recently, they banded with the commons, and proved more than a match for the fiercest Plantagenet. The commons, on their part, had more than once upheld their rights against both king and lords. Now, both orders shrank before the frown of the monarch, applauded every word that fell from his lips, and could hardly pay sufficient adoration to the kingly idol.*

* Lingard thus describes a scene that generally occurred at the opening of parliament: "The orators, in their efforts to surpass each other, fed his vanity with the most hyperbolical praise. Cromwell was unable, he believed all men were unable, to describe the unutterable qualities of the royal mind, the sublime virtues of the royal heart. Rich told him that in wisdom he was equal to Solomon, in strength and courage to Sampson, in beauty and address to Absalom; and Audley declared before his face, that God had anointed him with the oil of wisdom above his fellows, above the other kings of the earth, above all his predecessors, had given him a perfect knowledge of the Scriptures with which he had prostrated the Roman Goliath; a perfect knowledge of the art of war, by which he had gained the most brilliant victories at the same time in remote places; and a perfect knowledge of the art of government, by which he had for thirty years secured to his own realm the blessings of peace, while all the other nations of Europe suffered the calamities of war. During these harangues, as often as the words 'most sacred majesty' were repeated, or as any emphatic expression was pronounced, the lords rose, and the whole assembly, in token of respect and assent, bowed profoundly to the demi-god on the throne."—Vol. iv, pp. 361–4.

Could any reflecting man behold with indifference such a change, such an accession of power to the crown? Even at the present day, when the power of the commons is so great, would it appear safe for the crown to have at its disposal the votes and entire influence of the lords? What, then, if it could interfere in the election of the commons, and limit their freedom of debate to what it chose to call "decency?" What then must we say of the men whose selfishness could make them the instruments of royal encroachment? who could not only suffer all the power of the state to be engrossed by the king, but actually consented, and even proposed, to add to it strength the vast possessions and the entire influence of the ecclesiastical body?

The power of the crown was thus closely verging upon despotism. Could he be the friend of his country, that at so critical a moment labored to remove the only check upon the monarch's will? Could they be enemies of their country that gave their lives for this last remnant of liberty? Cranmer, Cromwell strove to seize for the king, while the monks struggled to defend the only power in the state that was yet independent. How were they rewarded? We speak not of motives, but of facts; and of facts only as far as they acted to the weal or the ruin of the country. The former were honored and enriched; the latter vilified and punished. When posterity had shaken off the chains that had been imposed by the Tudors, they forgot the champions that had stood up for the national rights. Because their principal motive was the preservation of the faith that was now an object of persecution the essential fact was overlooked, and the

umberts and Vanes wreaked their vengeance
the monks, their creed and its profession,
ith the same fury as they wreaked it upon
e cathedral church, or the devoted royalist.
Hampden and Sydney withstood the first
id second Charles, the mere shadows of the
udor; and their names have been handed
own as those of patriots, almost as those of
artyrs. Though their opposition was uncon-
itutional; though the former was shot in
tual service against his sovereign; though
e latter was no better than a conspirator;
eir faults have been forgotten: enough that
ey boldly withstood those that were deemed
e tyrants of their people. What a contrast!
n the one hand, Hampden and Sydney al-
ost deified: on the other, the withstanders
Henry VIII still hooted down by the cry
at the tyrant himself first raised.

Before the time of Henry, many a royal
gressor had been rebuked by the monks.
Whence, then, the implacable enmity with
hich they are now to be pursued? Because,
nong the crowd of Henry's flatterers, there
as one that had expressed his determination
to make or mar."* He sees that the king
as for five years sought a divorce, and is be-
oming desparate; ready for any measure that
ill enable him to repudiate his queen. He
pproaches the royal person, and, having ob-
ined an audience, pours his flattery into
reedy ears. Why must his princely desires
e controlled? Who is this bishop of Rome
iat dares to hesitate about the gratification of
ie royal will? Was the king to forego his
ght in consequence of such an interposition?
he north of Germany had rejected the autho-
ty of the pope; why should the potent Henry
emain under his subjection? Let him but
ssert his royal supremacy in all matters, ec-
esiastical or secular, and all difficulties will
anish: the divorce would be feasible, and the
lergy would be completely at his mercy.†

Well did Cromwell and his fellow syco-
hants know the character of their dupe. Not
a vain had they seen him squandering in
ummery, feast, and tournament, the vast
uits of his father's avarice; not in vain had
they witnessed the empty display of the field
of the cloth of gold; not in vain had they
heard him boast that he could outrival the
heroes of Cressy and Agincourt, would yet
tear from the brow of the French monarch the
crown of his ancestors. All this, and much
more, had they marked; and now their skilful
adulation at once gratifies the king's vanity
and love of despotism, and opens for them-
selves the path of honor and preferment.
After forty years' submission to the holy see,
Henry suddenly discovers that he himself was
all this while the real head of the church of
England.

Are, then, the bishops and clergy, that have
so often stood up against the oppressor, to be
henceforth the mute, passive servants of the
royal will? St. Wilfrid dared to reprove the
violence of a queen; St. Anselm and St. Tho-
mas stood between the insulting Norman and
his Anglo-Saxon victim, battling at once for
the church and the church's children; Lang-
ton arrayed the barons against a perjured king,
and wrung from his grasp the great charter,
the boast of England; Winchelsey led on the
nation to win, from the conqueror of Scotland
and Wales, the ruthless pillager of his subjects,
the peculiar, fundamental, privilege of the
house of commons, the right of self-taxation.
Where now are the bold spirits of the olden
time? Where those that received with the
same calmness the kingly reward or the kingly
chastisement, that one day sat beside the royal
throne, and with unaltered cheerfulness went
forth the next to penury and banishment?
Champions for the freedom and the faith of
their fathers, were not, however, wanting; but
the number was scanty, and the tyrant's mea-
sures were effectual. Sir Thomas More would
not deny the truth, and the venerable bishop
of Rochester stood forth in its defence. Their
heads were soon mouldering on London
bridge. The bishops shrank from the horrid
spectacle; they forgot their duty. Three, at
least, were already the creatures of Henry, and
heretics at heart;* the rest temporized. Awed
by the united authority of the king and the
bishops, the southern convocation acknow-
ledged the new title. Cromwell and his mas-
ter already exulted at their success. One great

* Stowe's Annals, p. 580.

† "Henry listened with surprise, but with pleasure,
a discourse which flattered not only his passion for
nne Boleyn, but his thirst for wealth and greediness
f power. He thanked Cromwell, and ordered him to
e sworn of his privy-council."—Ling. vol. iv, p. 178.

* The king had already contrived to fill three sees with men inclined to the new doctrines, viz. Cranmer, Latymer, and Shaxton of Salisbury.—*Strype's Mem.* vol. i, p. 215.

obstacle was yet to be surmounted. The monks and friars, already conspicuous for their opposition to the divorce, are now exerting all their means against the acknowledgment of the king's supremacy. In the ideas of Henry, opposition and rebellion were the same. Revenge, therefore, concurred with avarice in proscribing the religious houses. But to declare that the real crime was opposition to the king's supremacy,* to avow that he coveted their wealth, would perhaps provoke an armed resistance. It would be more easy to ruin their character, and then to seize their wealth as the forfeit of their crimes. Visiters are despatched to collect information against the devoted monks; the nation rings with reports; and when the minds of men are thoroughly prepared,† a bill is introduced abolishing all religious houses that possess an annual revenue of less than two hundred pounds. The startled commons forget for a time their usual obsequiousness: they see no reason for the measure, and withhold their assent. They had forgotten the logic for which Henry was famous: "I will either have the bill,‡ or take off some of your heads." There was no further demur.

More than three hundred monasteries were destroyed, and their possessions sequestrated to the king. "No less than ten thousand persons were sent into the world unfurnished, and in a manner undone, by this expedient."§ Murmurs were heard on every side. Commotions were felt in the south; in the east and north the whole population arose. "Restore the monks; punish the visiters; dismiss your evil counsellors," was the universal cry. The tyrant quailed at the voice of the nation; but he urged on his troops. They were but a handful before the multitude of their enemies, and the Duke of Norfolk, their general, declared that to encounter the rebels would be to throw away the lives of his men. Henry, however, had recourse to an expedient for which the insurgents were little prepared. He gave them to understand that he would grant their demands, and would assemble for that purpose a parliament at York. They trusted to the word of a king, and dispersed. Immediately he poured his troops into the heart of the north. Indignant at this deceit, the people again began to arm. They were now, however, watched by a powerful force, and as soon as a strong party collected, it was assailed before it could join its brethren. All opposition was crushed; and from the Humber to the Tyne, every town and hamlet became the scene of barbarous executions.*

Triumphant over his people, Henry no longer feared to suppress the remaining monasteries.† Another bill was introduced. It was asked whether, at the suppression of the small monasteries, the greater religious houses were not highly commended for strict regularity. This difficulty was obviated by a general charge of immorality, and by an appeal to the selfish feelings of the parliament. The king would become so rich, that he could maintain, at his own expense, an army of 40,000 men; he could thus, without asking any assistance from his commons, defend his dominions, and carry on his wars, as well as defray the ordinary expenses of government. This reasoning was sufficient; the bill was passed, and the monks were sacrificed. Truly had God taken away the wisdom of the nation. As if Henry was not yet sufficiently absolute; as if they had not yet surrendered enough of that which had been won by the toil and blood of their forefathers, the commons now agree to render

* "Cromwell had long ago promised that the assumption of the supremacy should place the wealth of the clerical and monastic bodies at the mercy of the crown. Hence that minister, encouraged by the success of his former counsels, ventured to propose the dissolution of the monasteries; and the motion was received with welcome by the king, whose thirst for money was not exceeded by his love of power; by the lords of the council, who already promised themselves a considerable share in the spoils, and by Cranmer, whose approbation of the new doctrines taught him to seek the ruin of those establishments which proved the firmest supporters of the ancient faith. . . . With this view, a general visitation was enjoined by the head of the church."—*Lingard*, vol. iv, p. 228, 4to.

Strype testifies that the object of the suppression was the enforcement of the supremacy.—*Mem.* vol. i, p. 205.

† "The king had resolved now to abolish the pope's power in England . . . . and therefore he ordered the point to be much disputed. . . . . And all this the more gently to bring off the generality of the nation, which was bred up in an awe of the pope, and had a mighty inveterate opinion of the papal jurisdiction."—*Strype's Mem.* vol. i, p. 160.

‡ Spelman Hist. of Sac. p. 183.

§ Coll. vol. ii, 114.

* Coll. pp. 132-135;—Ling. vol. iv, p. 253.

† At a very early period of the insurrection, before he had reason for serious apprehensions, he betrayed his desire of seizing the greater monasteries, as well as the violence of his disposition. The rebels had in several places reinstated the monks. "To frighten the monks from applying to the rebels, and returning to their old seats, his highness ordered those of Whalley, Sally, Norton, and Hexham, to be dragged out of their monasteries and executed by martial law."—*Coll.* vol. ii, p. 132.

mpletely nugatory the great statute, by ıich the king was prevented from levying ;es at discretion, and was obliged to pur- ase the assistance of the nation, by the ac- owledgment of rights, and the concession privileges. The act for suppressing the ;ater monasteries was avowedly to place at ; disposal of the crown, as much wealth as)uld render it independent of its subjects. ıat such a result has not taken place was not ; fault of the parliament. A monarch of less nity, of less extravagant passions, than enry, would have secured to himself, and queathed to his successors, an absolute des- tism. Happily, the selfishness of Henry as as blind as it was headstrong. Grasping the present, it looked not to the future. He asted on his favorites, or in riot and gambling, e treasures of monks whose prodigality he d condemned;* wrung from the deluded mmons the expenses of the seizure; left to s successors a power, as absolute in practice it was limited in theory; and consigned to)sterity an inevitable contest between arbi- ary power and constitutional freedom. The lds of Marston Moor and Naseby; the scaffold ıd the royal victim of Whitehall; the death one, and the final expulsion of all the Stu- ts, however distant in time, are links of the me chain, results of the Tudor despotism.

Thus far we have traced the chief events at were connected with the fate of the mo- ısteries: it is time to glance at the condition the monasteries themselves. It has been ready stated that on whatever grounds the onks opposed Henry's new accession of)wer, the very fact of their opposition to the)yal encroachments deserves our commenda-)n. It may perhaps be answered, that, ıough Henry's real object might have been secure great wealth and absolute power, the nmorality of the monks richly deserved the ıfliction. We will not stay to show that if it ; once admitted that the crown can confiscate roperty on a bare accusation, there is an end) the rights of the subject. We will concede ıe consequence, if the premises be true; any unishment, if the reports of immorality be sub- antiated. What, however, was the ground f those reports? Chiefly the accounts of the isiters. These accusations have been received ithout hesitation, repeated, dilated, thrown into every possible shape, infused into our literature, and too often inserted into the facts of history. We need not, however, listen to a variety of such charges, they are substantially the same—all echoes of the outcry raised by the flatterers of Henry. To refute one bold reviler, is to refute the whole class; the one whose accusations we wish to examine, is no other than Mr. Wright.* The only difference between him and the rest of his class is, that Hallam, Fosbroke, and such others, specify, or attempt to specify, one or two cases of depravity, before they pour out their bitterness upon the entire order. Mr. Wright, however, does not favor us with any fact; he "leaves the letters to tell their own story;" he "leaves the documents for others to comment upon." Does he call the following sentences no comment? "The worst crimes laid to the charge of the monks are but too fully verified by the long chain of historical evidence, reaching, without interruption, from the twelfth century to the sixteenth. Those who have studied, in the interior history of this long period, the demoralizing effects of the popish system of confession and absolution, will find no difficulty in conceiving the facility with which the inmates of the monasteries, at the time of their dissolution, confessed to vices, from the very name of which, our imagination now recoils. These documents are of peculiar importance amid the religious disputes which at present agitate the world; and I think that even the various lists of the confessions of the monks and nuns of the several religious houses, entitled *Comperta*, and preserved in manuscript, ought to be made public. The great cause of the reformation has been but ill served by concealing the depravities of the system which it overthrew." (Preface, p. vi.) So well does Mr. Wright "leave the letters to tell their own story;" so well does he "leave the documents for others to comment upon." "Documents," proofs, he has certainly left alone; but of "comments" he has given us enough to be the conclusions of a folio of "documents."

As if he had already established his point, he not only attacks the whole monastic order, but pursues it without mercy, from the reformation back almost to the period of the conquest. Like a true philosopher, he is not

* Coll.

* Editor of *Three Chapters of Letters* relating to this subject, published by the Camden society, Engl'd.—Ed.

content with the appearances of things, but plunges deep into their causes. Some Protestant divines have labored hard to prove the injurious effects of confession: poor, short-sighted creatures, through what useless labor have they toiled! One flash of Mr. Wright's intellect has revealed the whole truth; all the evils of the monastic system, of society, in short, from the twelfth to the sixteenth century, are the result of the "popish system of confession." This being so clear, it is no wonder that "the monks confessed to vices, from the very name of which, our imagination now recoils." What a pity that such glowing words should have so little meaning; that so profound a thinker should act in the inverse ratio of Lord Bacon's maxim—inventing a theory before he has proved the fact. The worst of the present case is that, not only a theory, but a whole system of facts is invented, or at least pre-supposed. Such a writer would scarcely attract our notice, were not his work under the sanction of a society which has assumed a high position both for its extensive research and its general tone of candor. How far the former quality is displayed in the work before us, we will not now discuss; the total absence of the second we have witnessed with regret.

His charges against the monks are either mere assertions, and the letters are really left "to tell their own story," and his preface is an unmeaning isolated effusion; or, forgetting his original intentions, Mr. Wright meant to substantiate his preface, by the tenor of his work. To give his accusations the greatest weight of which they are capable, we will take for granted that the latter supposition was his real intention. His witnesses in this case are the visiters; their epistles are their testimony. What, then, is the value of this testimony, and what the character of the witnesses?

What is the value of their testimony? Here we must bear in mind that we are not about to judge the monks as if they were already disembodied, as if they had ceased to be men. We know that whatever man's condition, his "life is a warfare," and a warfare in which, with respect to men in general, the evil principle not only frequently, but almost universally prevails. In common fairness, then, we must judge the monk, not as an angel, but as a mortal; and must therefore presume, even before examination, that a rigid scrutiny wi reveal a degree of delinquency, proportione to the number of the monastic communities.

To check even the ordinary tendency o man to degenerate, to repress as far as poss ble even the lowest average of human frailty was one great object of episcopal watchfu ness. When some disastrous revolution ha shattered and demoralized society, the evi that prevailed could not easily be exclude from the monastic establishment. Hence th labors of saints Dunstan, Oswald, and Ercon wald, after the first invasion of the Danes and hence the efforts of Lanfranc and St. An selm, after the second series of Danish inroad and the disorders of the Norman conques When the country enjoyed comparative re pose, local causes would sometimes produc in a single monastery, what a general corru tion of society would too often produce in al As, moreover, one generation of men is th counterpart of another, each requires a repe tition of the same care, of the same watchfu guardianship, as those that have gone befor Hence, from time to time, the letters of th popes, the injunctions of bishops, and th canons of provincial councils, for punishin faults and for applying those remedies tha circumstances required. When in any give age, we compare the number of these canon and documents, and the number of thos whose guilt is declared, with the number o religious and the existing state of society, w shall find that the irregularity is not above but, generally speaking, is much below, th average guilt of the age. An exception prove the rule: if, therefore, we find few instance of punishment for crime, we may, in ordinar circumstances, justly infer, that the crime itsel was not frequent, was an exception to th general practice: if we find that our religiou faults are below the average of the age, w may, with equal justice, infer that the tone o monastic life is higher than that of ordinar society; and therefore, despite of its excep tions, is deserving not of censure, but of com mendation.

Now, of the religious there were man thousand: thirty thousand would probably b a low estimate. Take but one-tenth of these nay, take a hundredth part, as the bad of every description. Could any one be surprised a finding that such a proportion of monks wer

nting to their rule; that three hundred ›uld be bad, and the remaining twenty-nine ›usand seven hundred should be good? His ly surprise ought to be, that after all that is done to discover their faults, so vast a ijority should remain free from inculpation. ie question then becomes, is there testimony fficient to inculpate, we do not say, the eat body of religious, but simply as many three hundred?

In vain, however, does the reader turn over e pages of the collection before us. We d, indeed, two or three sweeping accusa- ns. Layton, for instance, writes to his em- ›yer,—"It may please your mastership to advertized, that here in Yorkshire, we find eat corruption amongst persons religious, en like as we did in the south." Does he me any monk,—specify any monastery? ›t in the least. Does he produce any proof? ›t the slightest. Such assertions, then, are ıworthy of notice; are certainly no testi- ›ny.

Of the remaining accusations, some are ainst specified persons, and the rest attack, general terms, some of the religious of a ırticular house or locality. Still, however, e have no proof; nothing but assertion. ıppose, however, for a moment, that the ore specific assertions are of some weight, e absolutely true, what are ten or twelve ıssages out of the mass of epistles before ;? What are accusations against seven · eight monasteries, when we know that ere existed at least seven or eight hundred? Why, on such grounds, are we called upon to ıbscribe to the condemnation of the entire der? The testimony, if even it deserve the ıme, is clearly *insufficient*.

The English law condemns no individual ithout sifting the evidence of the witnesses, ıd giving the accused the opportunity of ıowing his accusers, and of making his de- nce. Was this done in the case of the ıonks? To what court were they sum- ıoned? What judge presided? What coun- el, what means of defence, were they al- wed? Scarcely were they permitted even to etition for redress. The king, always impa- ent of petitions, thirsted for their wealth; romwell was his creature; the parliament as afraid to speak in its own behalf: what, ıen, could they expect? It was dangerous to petition unless they conformed to the royal pleasure; still more dangerous was it to remonstrate, or so much as to hint at the injustice with which they were treated. When the act of supremacy had just passed, three abbots petitioned Cromwell for an exemption, or at least for a mitigation of the rigor of the act: Cromwell sent them to the tower as rebels!"* Justice was denied; to petition was a crime. The poor monks had no refuge; they lay helpless at the feet of one who knew not what mercy was. What mattered that they were Englishmen; they lived at a time when it was treason for an Englishman to maintain his rights. Their accusation was their doom; they were condemned without even the appearance of fairness; without the ordinary forms of justice. The testimony against them is not only insufficient; it is *unsubstantiated*.

We presume that we might now dismiss the case with merited contempt. Such, however, is not our intention; we wish to probe this vaunted evidence to the core. What, then, is its internal character? Of the eleven epistles that contain these charges, one is written by Bartelot, himself a friar; one by Barlow; one by Richard Devorencis; one by Bydill, though this is rather a threat of accusation than an accusation itself; one by Legh; *five* by Layton; and one by Legh and Layton conjointly.

When Titus Oates began his long course of perjuries, others soon rivalled, and even excelled him, in so profitable a trade. In like manner, Bartelot outstrips the accusations of Layton and his associates. Bartelot goes to the chancellor, utters his tale of infamy against his prior, and sues for a sum of money which the said prior had given in bond for secresy. It would have been well if other informers had received a like reply. The chancellor told him he was guilty of a heinous robbery, "deserved to be hanged, and should certainly find sureties." This accusation Bartelot himself wrote to Cromwell, entreating his interference,—and why, it may be asked, did he apply to Cromwell? Did Cromwell's office warrant him in interfering in the decisions of the chancellor? Whatever his motives, the chancellor's reply is sufficient to

* Strype's Memoir, vol. i, p. 198

show what a living and competent witness thought, both of the accusation and the accuser. Barlow, the prior of Haverfordwest, was made bishop of St. Asaph's, and finally of St. David's. His letter (Epistle 34) against the bishop of St. David's, while he himself was prior of Haverfordwest, is but a general invective; and the fact of his supplanting in his see the bishop against whom he wrote, is by no means a proof of his honesty of intention. One passage in this epistle shows that the real fault of the bishop against whom he writes, was a want of submission to the royal will.

It seems that the letters of Richard Devereux, or Devorensis, had not been sufficiently bitter for his employers; "Ye judge that though I have changed my habit, I have not changed my friar's heart: good, my lord, judge me not so, for God shall be my judge, my friar's heart was gone two years before my habit. . . . I feared that if I were too quick, I should offend your lordship, the which I would not by my will for all that I am able to make in the world." The readiness with which he gives proof of this desire, is actually ridiculous. In his former letters he uttered nothing against the monks but a few words of their "superstition and hypocrisy." Now, however, he amply atones for past deficiencies; immorality, brawls, bloodshed, every demon of evil is conjured up at once before his excited fancy. The poor wretch! Pity that he was unable, like more experienced villains, to conceal his purpose beneath an affectation of good.

Layton seems to have been the life and soul of the visitors. Calling at a nunnery, on his way to Lichfield, he was refused admittance in his character of visitor. He persisted; and made an unmanly attack on the character of the inmates. Pretending to disbelieve their asseverations, he made them swear to their innocence. Though his accusations were founded only on the assertion, according to his own words, of "one old beldame," he continued to insult the poor creatures, till by threatening to punish them for perjury, he terrified the prioress into excuses, which he afterwards construed into an admission of guilt. (Ep. 42.) In the same epistle, imputations are raised against the nuns of another convent, and then follows the probable reason of the accusation; a complaint that they had sealed a deed in favor of Sir John Mordaunt, b which it seems the visitors' seizure and pro would be somewhat diminished. This co tains as much evil of the religious as near all his other letters. Before he closes, he dea out a complaint that "the abbey here" (Newark) "is confederate, we suppose, an nothing will confess. The abbot is an hone man, and doth very well, but he hath he the most obstinate and factious canons th ever I knew?" In other words, the abbot ha yielded, while the rest of the community stoo firm. As usual, the unmanageable canon are rewarded with a sweeping accusatio "which," adds the writer, "I have learne of others (but not of any of them): what shall find I cannot tell." In this one epistl and in these accusations, are comprised th results of an expedition among the convent the whole way from London to Lichfiel Legh and Layton, it must be observed, we companions in this profitable visitation. Whe they arrived at the rich and magnificent A bey of Fountains, they accused the abbot, a in the early part of their journey, they ha accused the nuns. When the abbot took th oath that their accusations were false, the according to their usual plan, accused him perjury. An account of these charges the send to Cromwell, accompanied with the si gular accusation that the abbot had stolen fro his own church, and with the intelligence th in consequence of this crime they had strippe him of his dignity.* Much light is throw upon the whole transaction by the closin part of the letter. A monk, possessing a goo prebend, had offered, if they would choo him abbot, to pay down at once six hundre marks, and, within three years, to pay th whole of the first fruits, amounting to no le than a thousand pounds. Is there nothin suspicious in all this? Does it seem to be the impress of straightforward, disintereste honesty? They had already deposed the a bot, and the candidate was "rich!"

* "Thus the stiffness of the abbot of Fountains, Yorkshire, is said to have brought the storm upon hi The commissioners drew up a charge against him, t taking some jewels belonging to the monastery in his custody. This, by an unusual rigour of expre sion, was called theft and sacrilege. In short, he w pronounced perjured, deposed, and had a private r signation wrested from him. These instances of har ship will run harder by and bye," &c.—*Collier*, v ii, p. 159.

n letter 26th, Legh informs Cromwell that
rior, a very aged man, had refused to sur-
der his monastery. "All the country,"
tinues the writer, "maketh exclamation
his abbot of Rivaux, upon his abominable
ng, and extortions by him committed, also
ny wrongs to divers miserable persons
e." It is singular to observe how regu-
y these accusations are heaped upon any
that dares to stand unshrinkingly at his
t. Of this, Bydell's letter is a yet stronger
stration. He writes that the inmates of
n convent "stood stiff in their obstinacy."
e queen's almoner and many doctors, sent
Henry himself, had vainly endeavored to
suade them to acknowledge the royal su-
macy. "I handled," says the writer; "I
idled Whitford after that in the garden,
h with fair words and with foul, and
wed that through his obstinacy he should
brought to the great shame of the world,"
(Ep. 18.) "Foul," indeed! To strive to
ay his conscience to the king's purposes,
the threat of publishing certain improper
versations in the confessional! A subse-
nt passage, in the same epistle, shows
at Bydell and his employers really dreaded
he confessional: "We would fain know
ir advice what we shall do with *Whitford*,
Lyttell, and a lay-brother, one Turnington,
ich is very *sturdy against the king's title*.
e have sequestered Whitford and Lyttell
n hearing of the ladies' confessions; and
think it best that the places where these
rs have been wont to hear outward con-
ion of all comers, at certain times of the
r, be walled up, and that use to be foredone
ever, for that hearing of outward confes-
ıs hath been the cause of much evil, and
much treason, which hath been sowed
oad in this matter of the king's title, and
) in the king's grace's matter of his succes-
ı and marriage." (Ep. 18.) "With fair
rds and with foul!" defamation is the
ıalty of resistance!

Are these then the accusers of the monks:
se that so grossly tampered with men's
ings and consciences; who, when their
words, their flatteries and bribes had failed,
umed the tone of menace, the foul threat,
abominable accusation? Not only are their
ertions insufficient and unsubstantiated;
from all accompanying circumstances, it
is plain, that if not absolutely false, they are
at least extremely doubtful.

The examination of these charges has revealed the character of the accusers in no creditable light. Let us see how far this view is confirmed by more positive testimony. Cromwell, Audley, and other great officers, did not forget to secure for themselves and their friends a large share of the monastic property.* If the vicar-general then could stoop to such expediencies, is it likely that men of inferior station and education, men of no high integrity of character, should not readily imitate so profitable an example? Well might they fear that people would attribute their destruction of altars, not to zeal for overthrowing idolatry, but to the desire of wealth. That their thoughts were more intent on such acquisitions than they wished men to imagine, may be surmised from the acknowledgment of Barlow. He had entered a canon's house, and without any authority, had carried off his chests of money and plate. His excuse was, that the friends of the canon were raising the country against him. Good reason had he to say, "unless your good lordships be my favorable defence in right, I shall not escape confusion." (p. 108.) From the same letter (p. 192) it appears that after various charges and examinations; after being, in some instances, told that they should be thrust out "in spite of their teeth," the poor monks were obliged to defray the expenses of the visitors, and to reward their exertions with a contribution of money!

Dr. London was another of the visitors: of this Dr. London, Fuller says, "he was no great saint; for afterwards he was publicly convicted of perjury, and adjudged to ride with his face to the horse-tail at Windsor and Ockingham, (p. 314), to which may be added, that he was compelled to do public penance at Oxford, for incontinency, (*Strype*, i. 377)." † To this may be added, that Collier mentioning the general character of the visitors, describes them as men of "mercenary character," astonishing Europe "by their profane scrambling."‡

That these men were the devoted creatures

* Pp. 158, 240, 252, &c.; Noble's Mem. H. of Crom. vol. i, p. 9; Collier's Records, vol. ii, No. 42.
† Ling. vol. iv, p. 258.
‡ Vol. ii, pp. 155 and 160.

of the court; that in their eyes all opposition to the king's measures were a crime, and servile compliance a redeeming virtue, is evident from the general tone of their epistles. The same spirit taught them to narrate the sufferings of the monks, with the most heartless indifference. Richard Dovorensis goes by way of Northampton, Warwick, and Gloucester, to Wales. From his letters, it appears that many of the religious houses had refused to surrender, and being deprived of their ordinary means of livelihood, were actually reduced to the verge of starvation. "In every place," write the visitors, "in every place, is poverty and much shift made, with such as they had before, as jewels, sales, and other shifts, by leases. But in all these places *I have set stays* by indentures making; and the common seals sequestering, so that now they have no shift to make; so that I think before the year be out, there shall be very few houses *able to live*, but shall be glad to give up there and provide for themselves otherwise, for *there they shall have no living*." (pp. 193 and 194.) A letter from Bydell breathes the same spirit: "My very good lord, after most hearty commendations, it shall please your lordship to understand, that the monks at the charterhouse here at London, which were committed to Newgate for their traitorous behaviour, long time continued against the king's grace, be almost despatched by the hand of God," &c. (p. 162.) The men, whose sufferings he designates the afflictions of Providence, had been incarcerated in Newgate for denying the king's supremacy; several had already been executed for this offence; of the rest, the greater part, like many of their brethren, died in prison of hardship and famine.

On the one hand, then, the visitors were in some cases convicted, in many suspected, of practices to which no upright man would stoop: they are "mercenary" wretches, "scrambling" at whatever they can reach. All their gains, however, depend on the continuance of their employments: hence their unbounded servility; hence their adoption of such language, as would suit the taste both of Henry and Cromwell. Every act of remonstrance they brand as treason; every injury they inflict on monks, is the merited chastisement of rebels. On the other hand, "the king's passions ran so strong for a dissolution, that he would scarce endure the report of fair character given the religious." * Wh can we expect from this combination of pa sion and power, interest and servility? Whe the king cannot endure to hear "a fair chara ter" of the religious, and those that have depose against them, have no fear of examin tion or punishment, how can we trust suc depositions? how can we trust the man wh places them before the public as incontestib truths, without a word of the real value their contents?

Let us now, for a moment, glance at th result of our scrutiny. Were this testimon supposed to be proved, it would yet be insu ficient to criminate the great body of the monk It is, however, not proved; and is accon panied with circumstances that render doubtful, and probably false. All the pow of the crown, all that the ability of minister all that the selfishness of unprincipled visito could devise, was employed to set monk again monk, to rouse informers, to encourage env ous neighbors, that the evil deeds of the re gious might be published, and their professio covered with infamy. Some few unprov and very suspicious declarations is the on result. Could there be a greater proof of th innocence, and even of the sanctity, of th monks?†

Though, in the visitors and their testimon we possess no real evidence of the state the monasteries; though the charters and r cords of the monks have fallen into the han of their enemies, and in great measure ha perished: yet we have an evidence most trus worthy and most conclusive. The ruthle disposer of his subjects' rights, had sent h creatures to every part of the land, to hea disgrace upon the monks that dared to oppo his will; the people stood up in defiance

* Collier, vol. ii, p. 156.

† The charges of superstition are of the same n ture, and of the same value, as those of immorality they are thus answered by Collier: "The king ha ing the dissolution of the remaining monasteries view, thought it necessary to lessen their reputatio to lay open the superstition of their worship, and dra a charge of imposture upon some of them." After account of the false miracles, Collier proceeds; "B whether the impostures above-mentioned are matte of fact, will be a question. For William Thom cited by the Lord Herbert, is somewhat a questionab authority. He wrote the book called 'Il Peleri Inglese,' in justification of King Henry's proceeding but by the account he gives of Archbishop Becket, plain he was either biassed or grossly mistaken."— 149.

king, and told the hateful truth, that the st zealous of his creatures were guilty of ortion and bribery; that the monks were benefactors of the nation, the beloved, the erated, in whose cause they were willing shed their blood.*

Well might the people utter their indignant test. But a short time before, seven hund religious houses existed. They were the ng monuments of England's history; grey l ponderous, some of them told of the An--Saxon times, and showed their charters l manuscripts, gorgeously illuminated, and tten in a language that had passed away. ifices more stately, but almost equally ven- ble, told of the victorious Normans, and l, too, how the iron baron had learned to ep over the ruin which he had caused, and raise an atoning monument to the religion peace; fabrics vast and magnificent, whose it and graceful proportions, upborne by y aerial arches, told of a time when con- ting races sat around the same hearth, en odious distinctions of blood and privi- e were lost, and commerce and the arts re developing their energies, conferring afort upon man, and glory upon religion. whatever age they might have been erected, ir object was one. They were the retreats learned, as well as religious meditation. ose that had become disgusted with the olicity and wickedness of the world, with- w thither to heal their wounded bosoms; l those that, at the very dawn of manhood, l renounced a world which they knew to the enemy of innocence, found there the lter for which they longed, where they ld fix their thoughts on the eternal years, l calmly await their summons to their ever- ing home. Amid his varied duties, his otions, and his employment of transcribing teaching, the contemplative man yet found e to soar heavenward without restraint, l the student space enough for laborious estigation. There an Anselm had plunged the abstrusest knowledge; there had a lliam of Malmesbury recorded the fortunes of country; there had a Roger Bacon delighted he wonders of experimental philosophy. Around these seats of learning and religion, ny a flourishing community had arisen, where artisans of every grade found encouragement and profit;* and around them, too, were lands, tenanted by men whose light rents and easy tenures allowed them to grow in plenty and opulence; and peopled by a peasantry who were linked to their masters, and to the upper classes generally, by many a scene of hearty hospitality and amusement, and who had learned to bless the kindness that left free to their use a large portion of the monastic domain. While the new nobility, regarding their estates only as a means of profit, were engaged in expelling the peasantry, and turning their lands into sheep-walks; the monasteries, steadily pursuing their ancient path, preserved for a while the comfort and independence of the poor but brave men, that were the safe-guard of England, and the terror of its enemies. Standing thus, amid well-peopled, well-cultivated spots, the monasteries were the joy of the traveller. He might come with a gallant train, he might have trudged alone his weary, nightly path; no matter, he was sure of a welcome, sure of shelter and refreshment.

But the mandate has gone forth, the devout contemplative, the zealous student, the good landlord,† the teacher of youth, the feeder of the poor, is to be driven from the land. Even political economists have learned to appreciate the religious element: it is now to be plucked forth. Neither the voice of learning nor the cry of the poor can stay the ruthless hand. The men of the court grasp at the prize: the libraries of the monks are scattered,‡ and their noble edifices sink in ruin. The ten-

* Coll. vol. ii, p. 135.

* At the suppression of the lesser monasteries, "it was thought more than ten thousand persons, masters and servants, had lost their living by the pulling down of those houses."—*Stowe's Ann.* p. 571. What must have been the result then of the suppression of every monastery in the country?

† "The religious were far from making the most of their property, and straining the farms to rack rents. On the contrary, they granted leases to laymen upon small rents and gentle fines." Yet, "the monks are known to have made the most of their farms, which they kept in their own hands. Neither were they at all defective in the serviceableness of buildings and other improvements."—*Collier*, vol. ii, p. 108.

‡ "When the covers were somewhat rich, and would yield a little, they pulled them off, threw away the books, or turned them to waste paper." (*Collier*, vol. ii, p. 166.) In the same page Collier quotes the following passage from John Bale, the Centurist, "a man remarkably averse to popery and the monastic institution:" "Some they sold to the grocers and soap-sellers, and some they sent over sea to the bookbinders, not in small numbers, but at times whole shipsfull..... I know a merchantman...that bought the contents of

antry find the rents increase, the peasants are driven from the common lands which they before enjoyed. Discontent breaks forth into rebellion, and sullenly subsides into the depths of society. Poverty increases; and what charity refuses, is now chiefly wrung from the hard earnings of the middle classes. Before 1840, the poor-rates had risen to five, six, and even seven millions per annum. Its pressure has of late increased to an alarming extent. Incendiarism, popular commotion, checked for awhile, and again appearing, sternly announce the deep-rooted evils of society. Government avows its alarm. Lord Ashley discloses the degradation, moral and physical, of the manufacturing population; Osborne reveals the equally frightful condition of the Dorsetshire peasantry; and their statements are fully corroborated by those of the government commissioners, and of many local magistrates. The multitude of those that are grossly ignorant of the first principles of religion, as well as of their respective social duties, is enormous; the pressure of bodily want is absolutely shocking. Whether we look into the cellars of Manchester, or the crowded huts of Dorsetshire, we are sickened with the all but universal combination of poverty, immorality, and bitter discontent.

Four centuries ago, the nobles massacred one another in civil war: the people joined in the contest; then returned to their emplo ments, and prospered as before. What, the upper ranks of society were now to dra the sword? Would the masses, once arme once disciplined, sit down contentedly at t bidding of their chiefs? There has been change. A great and powerful change! B whence? We do not mean to deny that is the result of many causes; but certa it is, that within the last three hundred yea there has not been so great, so violent, change as in the suppression of the mona teries; and it is almost equally certain, th the poverty and moral degradation of t lower classes can, in a great measure, traced to no other cause. It is, moreove generally acknowledged that the present evi arise from privation and want of religio principle. This, also, even more clearly tha the former, can be traced to the same perio and it is undeniable that the monks were t teachers, as well as the feeders, of the poo

We leave the reader, then, to draw his ow conclusion: to say whether the suppressio of the monasteries was just, to say wheth it was really for the benefit of his countr It has been said, with truth and deep mea ing, England was "merry England then too truly, it is such no longer.*

two noble libraries for forty shillings price; a shame it is to be spoken. This stuff hath he occupied instead of grey paper, by the space of more than ten years, and yet he hath store enough for as many years to come." (p. 166.) Collier then proceeds: "Fuller complains that all arts and seiences fell under this common calamity.....If a book had a cross on it, it was condemned for popery, and those with lines and circles were interpreted the black art, and destroyed for conjuring."—p. 166.

* We hail, as harbingers of better times, varic events, in themselves perhaps unimportant, yet telli clearly that the utility of the monastic system is h coming more generally acknowledged: among the may be mentioned the late discussion at the Union Cambridge. The subject proposed was to the effe that, 'The dissolution of monasteries by Henry VI has been highly injurious to this country, and the ci cumstances of the time imperatively demand the r storation of similar institutions.' After a debate three evenings, eighty-eight declared in favor of t motion; and it was thus carried by a majority twenty-eight votes.

INTELLIGENCE.

FOREIGN.

ROME.—Extract of a letter dated Rome, Low Sunday.

"I HAVE seen *very* few churches in Rome that I thought pretended to any architecture, and still fewer that can compare, in majesty and solemnity, with the old gothic churches of Rouen and Paris. The more I saw of these the better I liked them; and now, the more I think of them, the more I regret them. I speak of the *exterior*. In the interior there is no end to the varieties of marble, the paintings, the monuments, the statuary, the gilding, t mosaic, that is lavished upon the Roman churche But this splendor is all interior. From the stre you see none of that venerable grandeur which te you of ages long gone by, and invites you come and enjoy the seclusion from bustle, the tra quillity which you are sure you will find withi Again I speak *generally*. St. Peter's with its i mense piazza, is, of course, unrivalled in the wor The front of St. John Lateran is also very grar St. Agnes and some others find severe critics, b

poor taste is very well satisfied with them. But
re is St. Mary Cosmedia, one of the Basilicas,
I passed by three times before I noticed it
ugh to ask the name. I wondered once at find-
my companions entering a little door, in one
of a narrow rough cast house, of which the
ll was entirely plain: we descended three steps,
found ourselves in the dark vestibule of one of
largest churches in the city, displaying within
ametry and architecture which some prefer even
St. Peter's—St. Mary de Angelis. Yet it has no
er front than what I have mentioned.

As for St. Peter's itself, I shall not be guilty of
folly of trying to describe it: at least, I am not
o foolish a mood just now. Indeed, I have no
a of it myself. I have visited it four or five
es, but I am still as much bewildered as before,
as perfectly unable to realize its size. For
tance, I was shown the pope's arms on the ped-
al of a pillar, and asked if the tiara above them
s as high as my shoulders. It was not more than
rty feet from me; I looked and looked, and tried
make myself believe that it was, but I could not
suade myself that it was higher than my elbows.
valked up to it, and I could just touch it with
finger! the whole pedestal which seemed to be
out the height of my shoulder, must have been
arly eight feet high! If this seems to you incre-
ble, how can I pretend to tell of the exhaustless
nders of that greatest of temples? Perhaps I will
times speak to you of some parts of it: but, at
esent, what little idea I have of its interior, has
en confused, or rather swallowed up in the
ought of the magnificent and solemn display that
vitnessed there on Easter Sunday.

Just imagine a sanctuary about the size of your
urch; on each side a double row of cardinals and
elates, terminated at one end by the grand altar,
which the canopy is ninety-six feet high, and
st four hundred thousand dollars; at the other
d, the throne of the holy father, simple but rich,
d twelve prelates stationed around it. All is
epared—hear now the flourish of trumpets—it
within the church, and announces the coming
the pope; but, dampened by the mass of twenty
ousand people, it is mellowed down as if it were
mile off. There is the holy father himself, carried
a chair above the heads of the crowd. Every
ie kneels, and he is constantly giving his blessing:
canopy is over his head, and a large fan or screen
white feathers is borne on each side of him. He
dressed in a white cope, and has his tiara on his
ead; in all his triumph, looking as simple and
mble as a fisherman indeed. To complete the
cture, you ought to have some idea of the specta-
rs themselves. There were among them all ranks
men and women, ecclesiastical, civil and military,
om the ex-king Don Miguel, to the barefooted
boy begging for cents; and every body was in full dress—coats of mail, monks' hoods, gold and silver lace, silks and cloths of every color and fashion, pearl handled swords, white and red plumes, steel helmets and shaven heads. Even independently of the solemn occasion, the mere external scene was such as I suppose could no where else be wit nessed. Indeed, I was too much dazzled and distracted, to enter as I would have wished into the spiri of the solemnity, and I thought that I would return to college, rather pleased than moved or edified. But I was most happily disappointed. There were at least twenty thousand persons in the church, and when I came out to the door, there were not less than sixty thousand more without, assembled to receive the papal benediction, and still they came on. For half an hour after I got out, that crowd kept thickening, thickening. The whole immense piazza was thronged; the top of the colonnade was covered with ladies; every window and every house top was alive. When the holy father appeared in the balcony, I know not why, but I began to feel nervous, my heart beat, and I trembled; but when he raised his head towards heaven, and stretched forth both his hands, to invoke a blessing upon the four quarters of the world, and when the whole of that multitude bent down together, I was really overwhelmed. I felt no curiosity to witness the *act* of giving the blessing: I do not know what I felt, unless it was a sense of my nothingness, and an absorbing desire that some portion of the blessing might fall on me.

When we arose, the great bell was tolling, and the volleys of musketry and the roaring of cannons at the castle, were proclaiming the public exultation. I returned home with a feeling that now I could be satisfied, evenif I were to seenothing else in Rome.

DOMESTIC.

ARCHDIOCESS OF BALTIMORE.— *Confirmation.*— The sacrament of confirmation was administered by the Most Rev. Archbishop at the Convent of the Visitation, Baltimore, on Corpus Christi; in the Cathedral (to about two hundred persons), June 9th; at Mount St. Mary's college, Emmittsburg, June 16th; at St. Joseph's academy, near Emmittsburg, June 17th; at St. Mary's college, Baltimore, June 23d; at Georgetown college, June 21st, on which day one of the scholastics received the tonsure and minor orders.

Report of the Trustees of the Cathedral for the year ending May, 1844.—The following report of the debt of the Cathedral Church was made by the Trustees, in a printed statement submitted to the members of the congregation in May, 1843.

The stock debt, as stated therein, was	$41,810 34
The temporary loans on trustees' notes	4,300 00
The interest due and unpaid.....	993 50

The balance of purchase due on graveyard		$2,000 00
The amount due mechanics and for taxes		1,197 82
Total liabilities as stated in report,		$50,301 66

The following reductions have been made since May, 1843.

Paid on account of stock debt..	$4,413 23	
" " temporary loans....	1,050 00	
" " unclaimed interest..	986 00	
" " graveyard purchase.	1,000 00	
" " mechanics and taxes	1,197 82	
		8,647 05
Leaving a balance of liabilities of		$41,654 61

This balance is composed of the following debts.

Stock debt	$37,397 11
Temporary loans on trustees notes....	3,250 00
Unclaimed interest	7 50
Graveyard purchase	1,000 00
	$41,654 61

The following sums have been received by the Trustees of the Cathedral Church of Baltimore since May, 1843.

Cash received from former account of trustees balance of account	$148 69
" sales of Howard street property...	2,495 65
" arrears of pew rents	499 65
" graveyard	840 25
" Sinking Fund Society	1,904 27
" donations to the church	265 26
" Equitable Society bal. of deposit.	55 93
" ground rents	166 66
" loans acct. of stock and interest..	919 66
" T. Meredith, Esq., asst. treas. ac. pew rents and collections	1,964 75
" on acct. of pew rents, since 1 Ap. 1843	4,646 79
" collections	1,521 11
Total receipts	$15,428 67

The following sums have been disbursed by the trustees since May, 1843.

Cash paid by sink. fund soc. stock, &c.	$1,904 27
" on account of stock debt	1,960 49
" for interest on do	2,356 83
" on temporary loans	221 59
" note on graveyard and interest...	1,120 50
" water rent, taxes and expenses...	501 81
" contributions to Equitable Society	54 35
" fencing for graveyard	30 20
" note for iron railing	200 00
" T. Meredith, Esq., assistant treas. since 1 April, 1843, for salaries.	3,204 50
" expenses of sundries	681 02
" to treasurer of cathedral	2,276 97
	$14,512 53
Total balance on hand	$916 14

Balance on hand treasurer of cathedral		$910 73
" " assistant do....		5 41—916 14

The balance is subject to a demand for unclaimed interest, amounting to $297 01

In addition to the above financial exhibit, it has been thought that a passing notice of the condition of the cathedral structure would not be unacceptable to the congregation. To keep the church in proper repair, is a matter in which every member attached to it, should take a lively interest. The decayed state in which many parts of the building are now found, requires at the trustees' hands prompt attention and an indispensable outlay of money. A thousand dollars will be the smallest amount, with which, by a rigid economy, the trustees can hope to stop the further progress of deterioration in the roof and dome of the church. This expense for repairs is not only reasonable but *imperative*, and the trustees hope that the generosity of the congregation will provide for it, without compelling them to have recourse to the corporate heads of the church. The proper reliance for all repairs and extraordinary outlays, should be on the zeal and charity of the members of the cathedral congregation. It is indeed believed that the congregation, in their good sense, would rather meet these extra expenses by *voluntary contribution* than by increasing a debt, which already reaches a full measure. The revenue of the cathedral is not more than sufficient to meet the regular demands for interest, salaries, and the expenses indispensable in Catholic worship. It is true, that the trustees hope that the day is not distant, when, by the aid of the "Society for sinking the debt of the cathedral," they may find the financial condition of the church so much improved, as to enable them to lay the foundation of an independent fund for the completion of the church, the thorough repair of its exterior and the decent renovation of its interior. To do this, however, it is all important that we should all, by our support, influence, and zealous agitation, do all in our power to maintain the "Society for sinking the cathedral debt," exerting ourselves to increase its numbers and contributors, and commending it to the favor of the members of the congregation. The perpetuation of this Sinking Fund Society will create a new era in our financial condition, and ultimately so improve it, that income will flow in faster than demands, and the load of debt which is now so depressing to all schemes of improvement, will rest lightly on our shoulders and on our hearts. The trustees then repeat the hope that there will be a united effort of the whole cathedral flock in endeavoring to bring about so happy a consummation, and that no one will any longer hold back his mite from a "society" destined to achieve so much good; a society which if kept up

n spirit, will one day give us a surplus for the airs and completion of our church, and the im- vement of that beautiful cemetery attached to cathedral, where repose the mortal remains of nany who are near and dear to us, the remains ur parents, relations, and friends.

)IOCESS OF RICHMOND.—*Dear Sir:*—As all nge things that are to be seen in strange places, are ed *novelties*, a tourist is never at a loss for objects ttract his notice, or test his powers of observation. natters not whether it be the trees—the turnings in road—the up-hills and down-hollows—the villa- and towns—the shapes of the houses—the dress he people—the manner in which they sit, stand, ak, eat, yea, and even the *gong* used in the hotels— h is "jotted" down as a novelty, more or less, l then we are favored with "pencilings by the y"—"notes for general circulation," or per- ance, the more acute may serve up the matter as : was and as it is," and by a little stretch of the agination, or a moderate exercise of the inventive ius, give us a narrative of *fictitious* facts which ght please the lovers of fables, or those who d to "kill time," but which must be of as little ue to the public, as a certain late work is credit- e to its author. It is not my intention to tell nderful tales nor to give *fancy* sketches, but nply to give matters as I found them and as I t them—presuming too, that your readers will efer to hear that which relates to the progress of r holy religion, I will confine my few and hastily itten notes to matters connected with it.

The first stage of my journey occupied fourteen urs on the Chesapeake, and then I was in Nor- k; a quiet, neat and well regulated little city. ie harbor has many attractive features—the re- ins of two or three old forts, which are con- cted with deeds of other days. The Pennsyl- nia, the navy monster—the naval hospital, and e navy yard, together with its rural appearance, nder it both pleasing and pleasant. The city is o small to have many external attractions, and erefore, but few to notice. The Catholic portion the community is proportionably numerous, and eir "circumstances" above middling, many con- lered wealthy. The church (St. Patrick's) is a ndsome doric building, with portico extending ross the whole front, supported by large columns. he interior finish is very chaste and simple, but perfect keeping with the style of the building; ere are no galleries to disfigure its appearance, e only one being the organ loft at the end. The oir is not large, but is efficient, and reflects much edit upon the director and organist, Mr. Massi. he present organ is soon to be replaced by a new ne of greater compass, for which object I found e ladies of the congregation actively engaged, eparing for a Fair, which, I doubt not will realize their hopes. I was much pleased with their admi- rably conducted little Sunday school which is pro- gressing rapidly under the guidance of the beloved pastor (Rev. Mr. Hitselbergher), and the zeal of the ladies and gentlemen who devote their time to this commendable and pious employment. The labor of the Sunday school teacher brings with it its own reward.

A residence for the pastor is built on the same lot with the church, and as the lot covers an entire square, it serves also for the purpose of a burial ground.

Portsmouth, on the opposite side of the river, is notable only as being the great naval depot. The business and trade of the town depend entirely upon the operations of the navy yard. At one time brisk in the extreme, then again, when work is "sus- pended" in the yard, enterprise flags, and business men, mechanics and laborers, are left idle, and often obliged to wait for the machinery of govern- ment to make its tardy movements before they re- ceive payment.

The Catholic population is not so large as in Norfolk. However, they have a very neat and beautiful church, to which there is also attached a large lot for a burial ground. The pastor is the Rev. Mr. Moriarty, who is also the visiting clergy- man to Fort Monroe—Old Point Comfort—which place he attends monthly. I had the pleasure of visiting the fort in company with the Rev. Mr. Moriarty, and witnessing one of those interesting military services. The room in which mass was offered, is one set apart for such purposes. The congregation was mostly composed of the military, the commander and several officers, who are also Catholics. The band of the regiment was in at- tendance, and performed several hymns and a por- tion of the mass in a style which at once manifested the interest they felt in the service of their religion. The scene was well calculated to make a good im- pression upon the idle spectator, and could not fail to edify the most pious Catholic—such was the de- meanor of the soldiers.

An attempt was made some time ago to force the men to attend the service of the government (Pro- testant) chaplain, in defiance of all right of con- science, and the boasted privileges of the constitu- tion. The order, however, was only from the offi- cer of the day. Lieutenant O'Brien conceiving the order to be unconstitutional, determined to obey it so far only as to march the men to the *door* of the church, and then leave it optional with themselves whether to enter or not. This step was a bold one, but one which he felt justified in taking. He was immediately placed under arrest, by taking his sword and a court martial threatened. But as his conduct was not condemned at Washington, his sword was restored and the court martial passed

away. It is needless to add that the order has never been repeated.

The troops were about five hundred in number, a large portion Catholics. I found the Catholics in possession of all the Catholic papers and periodicals published in the United States, and a large number of standard works. The result of this is, that knowing their religion, they endeavor to follow it.

O. O'B.

Diocess of Charleston.—On Sunday, June 9th, and the following days, Bishop Reynolds administered the sacrament of confirmation to sixty-five persons, at Savannah, Geo.

Diocess of Natchez.—The sacrament of confirmation was recently administered at Vicksburg, to a numerous assemblage, among whom were several converts.

On the 26th of May, a new church was dedicated to divine worship at Biloxi; on the 16th of June, another was to be opened at Pass-Christian. Both churches were erected by the zealous efforts of Rev. Mr. Labbé.

Diocess of New Orleans.—On the 2d June, the sacrament of confirmation was administered to 110 persons, in St. Patrick's church, N. Orleans.

The suit of the trustees against the bishop, was lately decided in the supreme court of Louisiana, in favor of the latter.

Diocess of Boston.—On Whit-Sunday, May 26th, 200 persons received confirmation in the Cathedral at Boston. On the Sunday previous, it was administered to about 80 persons, at Dover, N. H. and Newburyport, Me. On June 9th, 160 persons received the same sacrament, at St. Mary's church, Boston.

Diocess of Cincinnati.—On the 23d of May, sixty-seven persons were confirmed at Chilicothe, and on the 26th the same sacrament was administered to seventy-six persons, at Lancaster.—*C. Tele.*

Diocess of Vincennes.—The bishop and clergy of this diocess in synod assembled, have addressed a letter of condolence to the Rev. Mr. Weinzepflein, expressing their conviction of his innocence and the assurance of their high regard for his character.—*C. Advocate.*

Diocess of Philadelphia.—*Ordinations.*—On Sunday in Ember week, the sacred order of deaconship was conferred by the bishop in the Cathedral on Rev. William Harnett, O. S. A., and Rev James Forbes.

On Trinity Sunday, Rev. James Forbes, Rev. Hugh Lane, and Rev. Hugh Brady, received the sacred order of Priesthood in the Cathedral.—*Cath. Herald.*

Metropolitan Catholic Almanac for 1845.—The Rev. clergy, and all who feel an interest in the completeness and accuracy of the *Metropolitan Catholic Almanac and Laity's Directory*, are respectfully requested to forward to the editor of this Magazine, or to F. Lucas, jr. Baltimore, (before the 15th of next August), such information as they may wish to appear in the above mentioned annual. As a special circular on this subject, is addressed to the Rt. Rev. bishops, the present notice is intended particularly for those, who, having the direction of colleges, academies, and religious communities, may desire to see a full and correct statement of their respective institutions, in the forthcoming Directory. To meet the wishes of the public, and to render the periodical as complete and interesting a source of information as possible, is the sole view of its conductors, in thus requesting the co-operation of all who may contribute to its usefulness.

Our Correspondents.—We acknowledge with many thanks, the reception of an article, which reviews Mr. Webster's speech on the Girard-will case. It will appear next month.

The *Catholic Herald* intimates that we have been imposed upon by H. J. B. in the poetical article of our June number. If the lines were written by Mr. Willis, we cheerfully award him all the honor. The poetry in this number was also sent from Boston; we hope from an authentic source. We shall guard with special care in future against the vile artifices of the plagiarist.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

The Catholic Christian instructed in the Sacraments, Sacrifice, Ceremonies and Observances of the church, by way of Question and Answer. By the Rt. Rev Dr. Challoner. Baltimore: Metropolitan Press. 12mo, pp. 247.

Among the numerous works which have appeared in modern times for the instruction and edification of the Catholic, those of Dr. Challoner hold a conspicuous rank, and are justly valued for the very able manner in which he has explained the dogmatical and moral truths of our holy religion. It is no slight encomium, therefore, to say that the book which we have announced is perhaps the most useful production of Dr. Challoner's pen, in as much as it serves to enlighten both the Protestant and Catholic, in relation to the tenets and practices of our faith. Sixty years ago, Rev. Mr. Carroll, who was afterwards appointed the first bishop of the Catholic church in the United States, made the following observation, speaking of Dr. Challoner's writings, in a letter to a friend in Europe: "God has given a great blessing to his labors:

ne of his writings, and particularly his *Catholic ristian*, do infinite service here." It has in fact vays enjoyed a high character in the church, and increased circulation has only tended to make it ore generally sought after. A new edition of the ork was much wanted; for, apart from its scarcity, e renewed efforts of sectarianism to misrepresent r doctrines and observances, call loudly for the ssemination of such books as the one before us. ne preface which forms an answer to the false arges of Conyers Middleton, we consider a mas-r-piece of polemical writing. The Metropolitan ess has done a great service to religion by the re-iblication of the *Catholic Christian*. It is very atly printed, and is sold at the remarkably low ice of twenty cents per copy.

hink well on it; or Reflections on the great truths of the Christian religion. By the Rt. Rev. Dr. Challoner. Baltimore: Metropolitan Press. 32mo, pp. 175.

This little volume, by the same author, is a andard book of devotion among Catholics. It has en translated into different languages for the use the faithful; a circumstance which of itself inces the high estimation in which it is held. he present edition is neatly executed, and will be sposed of at the unusually moderate price of velve cents per copy.

he Truth Unveiled; or a calm and impartial exposition of the Origin and immediate cause of the terrible Riots in Philadelphia, on May 6th, 7th and 8th, A. D. 1844. By a Protestant and Native Philadelphian.

This is an able pamphlet on the late disgraceful ots in Philadelphia, and coming as it does from a rotestant, it merits universal attention. The fol-owing inaccuracies, however, pointed out by the *reeman's Journal*, should be noticed by the reader.

"He supposes that Bishop Hughes requested that ing James' version 'might not be used as a read-ng book in the Public Schools.' This is a mistake. ll that Bishop Hughes requested was, that the ible of one denomination should not be imposed n any other denomination without their consent. He supposes that the Bishop farther demanded in ase that King James' version should not be re-noved, a separate system for the Catholic children f the Public Schools; this is another mistake—no uch request ever having been presented. Finally, ie says that the 'issue was the granting of the etition of Bishop Hughes, and that the Catholic hildren are now educated separately.' All this is ntirely wrong and contrary to the facts."

Letters on the National Institute, Smithsonian Legacy, the Fine Arts, and other matters connected with the interest of the District of Columbia. By John Carroll Brent. Washington: J. & G. S. Gideon. 8vo, pp. 90.

Most of the letters of which this brochure consists, appeared in the columns of the *National Intelligencer*, during the recent session of congress. The object of the author, which was to direct public attention, and particularly that of the general legislature, to the proper application of the Smithsonian bequest, and to the importance of the benefits likely to accrue from the operations of the National Institute, is eminently laudable, and will, no doubt, meet with the sanction of all the friends of science and education. Mr. Brent, in these essays, has displayed a literary zeal worthy of all commendation, and has offered valuable suggestions, which cannot but receive, at no distant day, the practical approbation of those to whom he has addressed himself. From the collection which he politely sent us, we learn the following interesting particulars:

"The National Institute for the promotion of science has now been in existence upwards of three years, having been founded in this city in the month of May, 1840, and incorporated by Congress in July, 1842. In order to give some idea of its progress and extension, I will content myself for the present with stating that it now embraces upwards of one thousand members, distributed as follows: two hundred and eighty-seven resident, twenty honorary, thirty-two paying corresponding, and seven hundred and fifty-four corresponding members. The Institute has upon its lists seventeen corresponding American and one hundred and forty-one foreign societies; and all governors of states, and diplomatic, consular, and commercial agents, who are not otherwise connected with the Institute, are considered as corresponding members *ex officio*.

"The constitution of the Institute has divided the departments into eight: first, chemistry; second, geology and mineralogy; third, geography, astronomy, and natural history; fifth, the application of science to the useful arts; sixth, American history and antiquities; seventh, agriculture; eighth, literature and the fine arts."

In the 12th letter, p. 58, Mr. Brent furnishes a condensed account of the astronomical observatory recently erected at Washington, by order of congress, after which he proceeds to describe a similar institution at Georgetown college, which is also of a late date:

The donation to which the College Observatory owes its construction was made in 1841. In 1842 a plan was agreed upon, and a correspondence opened with European artists, and some of the instruments ordered. The building was commenced in the summer of 1843, and is nearly finished. The edifice is about four hundred yards west by north of the college, on a rising ground, and commands a free view of the government depôt or observatory just referred to, which is about one and a half miles to the southeast. The building is sixty feet long, east and west, and about thirty feet wide, and has three rooms on the ground floor. The eastern and western rooms are fifteen feet high, and are intended for the meridian instruments. The middle part of the building is thirty feet square and about thirty high, with a balustrade all around, as is the case with the walls of the meridian rooms. A third story of frame work is constructed within the balustrade of the middle building. It is thirty feet square, with a rotary hemispherical dome, twenty feet in diameter. This dome rests upon twenty conical eight-inch rollers; there is a footway three feet wide all around between the dome and balustrade. A solid piece of mason-work is constructed, the top of which passes through the floor of the room formed by the dome, and upon which is to be placed an equatorial refracting telescope.

"The principal instruments for this observatory, are, 1st, an equatorial refractor, with a seven and a half inch object-glass, and ten feet focal length, having eleven eye-pieces, six of which are adapted to a position micrometer; this instrument is being made by GAMBIER, in Paris, and will be finished in June next; 2d, a forty-six inch meridian circle, from SIMMS, of London; 3d, a transit instrument or meridian telescope of the best construction. This instrument has an object-glass of four and a half inches diameter and seventy-six inches focal length, was made by ESTEL and SON, of Munich, in 1843, has been sent, but not yet received at the college.

ECCLESIASTICAL CALENDAR.

1 *Monday.* † Octave of St. John Baptist, doub. Less. noct. from prec. Sund. com. of App. in Lauds and Mass, in which Gl. cr. and Pref. of App. *White.* Vesp. of fol. com. of prec. and Oct. and SS. Processus, &c. MM.

2 *Tuesday.* † Visitation of the BVM. gr. doub. 9th less. of MM. of whom com. after the Oct. in Lauds and Mass, in which Gl. cr. and Pref. of BV. *in visitat.* *White.* In Vesp. com. of Oct.

3 *Wednesday.* †
4 *Thursday.* † } Of the Oct. semid. In Mass 2 col. *concede*, 3 *Eccl.* or *pro Papa.* The rest as Tuesd. *Red.* Vesp. of the Oct.

5 *Friday.* † Of the Oct. semid. yest. *Red.* *Abstinence.* Vesp. of fol.

6 *Saturday.* † Oct. of SS. Peter and Paul, doub. Mass. prop. *Red.* In Vesp. com. of fol.

7 *Sunday.* 6th Sund. after Pent. Semid. 2 col. *A cunctis*, 3 *ad lib.* cr. and Pref. of Trin. *Green.* In Vesp. com. of fol.

8 *Monday.* St. Elizabeth Wid. In Mass col. as yest. *White.* Vesp. from ch. of fol. com. of prec.

9 *Tuesday.* St. Margaret, Queen of Scots, Wid. semid. (10th June). In Mass as yest. *White.* Vesp. from ch. of fol. com. of prec.

10 *Wednesday.* The Seven Brothers, MM. semid. In Mass as yest. *Red.* Vesp. from chap. of fol. (in hymn *Mer. sup.*) com. of prec. and St. Pius.

11 *Thursday.* St. Leo, PC. semid. (7th inst. in Brev. 28th of June) 9 less. and com. St. Pius in Lauds and Mass, 3 col. *A cunctis.* *White.* Vesp. of fol. com. of prec. and St. Nabor, &c.

12 *Friday.* St. John Gualbertus, Abb. doub. com. of MM. in Lauds and Mass. *White.* *Abstinence.* In Vesp. com. of fol.

13 *Saturday.* St. Anacletus PM. semid. In Mass col. as on 7th inst. *Red.* Vesp. of fol.

14 *Sunday.* 7th Sunday after Pent. St. Bonaventure, BCD. doub. 9th less. of hom. and com. of Sund. in Lauds and Mass in which Gl. &c. and Gosp. of Sund. at the end. *White.* In Vesp. com of Sund. and fol.

15 *Monday.* St. Henry, C. semid. (in hymn *Mer. sup.*) Less. 1 noct. from prec. Sund. In Mass col. as 7th inst. *White.* Vesp. of fol. com. of prec.

16 *Tuesday.* Feast of the BVM. of Mt. Carmel, gr. doub. In Mass Gl. cr. and Pref. of BV. *Et te in commemoratione.* *White.* In Vesp. com. of fol.

17 *Wednesday.* St. Alexacis C. semid. In Mass col. as 6th inst. *White.* Vesp. of fol. (in hymn *Mer. sup.*) com. of prec. and SS. Symphorosa, &c.

18 *Thursday.* St. Camillus *de Lellis*, C. doub. 9th less. and com. of SS. in Lauds and Mass. *White.* Vesp. from ch. of fol. (in hymn *Mer. sup.*) com. of prec.

19 *Friday.* St Vincent of Paul, C. doub. *White.* *Abstinence.* Vesp. from ch. of fol. (in hymn *Mer. sup.*) com. of prec. and St. Margaret.

20 *Saturday.* St. Jerom *Rivilian*, C. doub. com. of S. in Lauds and Mass. *White.* In Vesp. com. of fol. and S. Praxedes.

21 *Sunday.* 8th Sunday after Pent. semid. com. of S. in Lauds and Mass, 3 col. *A cunctis*, Cr. and Pref. of Trin. *Green.* Vesp. of fol. com. of Sund.

22 *Monday.* St. Mary Magdalen, Penit. doub. On Mass Gl. and cr. *White.* Vesp. from ch. of fol. com. of prec. and S. Liborius.

23 *Tuesday.* St Apollinaris, BM. doub. com. of S. in Lauds and Mass. *Red.* In Vesp. com. of S. Christina.

24 *Wednesday.* Vigil of S. James Ap. com. of S. in Lauds. In Mass 2 col. *Fidelium*, 3 of S. Christina. *Purple.* Vesp. of fol.

25. *Thursday.* S. James Ap. d. 2 cl. com. of S. Christopher in Lauds and Mass, with Gl. Cr. and Pref. of App. *Red.* In Vesp. com. of fol.

26 *Friday.* St. Ann, mother of the BVM. gr. d. In Mass Gl. *White.* *Abstinence.* In Vesp. com. of fol. and S. Pantaleon.

27 *Saturday.* Office of Concep. of the BVM. semid. In Mass Gl. 2 col. of S. 3 of the H. Ghost; in Pref. *te in commem. concep.* *White.* Vesp. from ch. of fol.

28 *Sunday.* 9th Sunday after Pent. semid. In Mass as on 7th inst. *Green.* In Vesp. com. of fol. and SS. Felix, &c.

29 *Monday.* St. Martha, V. semid. com. of MM. in Lauds and Mass, in which 3 col. *A cunctis.* *White.* Vesp. from ch. of fol. com. of prec. and SS. Abdon, &c.

30 *Tuesday.* SS. Nazarius, &c. MM. semid. (28th inst.) 9th less. and com. of SS. in Lauds and Mass, in which as yest. *Red.* Vesp. of fol. com. of prec. (In dioc. of Balt.) Vesp. of fol.

31 *Wednesday.* St. Ignatius C. doub. *White.* Vesp. of fol. (In dioc. of Balt.) d. 1 cl. with oct. Less 1 noct. *Justus*, in Mass Gl. Cr. during the Octave. In Vesp. com. only of fol. and S. Paul.

SUN'S *upper* limb rises and sets, (corr. for refract.) M. T.

D.M.	D.W.	Boston, &c. rises	Boston, &c. sets.	New York &c. rises	New York &c. sets.	Washington &c. rises	Washington &c. sets.	Charleston, &c. rises	Charleston, &c. sets.	N. Orleans, &c. rises	N. Orleans, &c. sets.
		h. m.	h. m.	h. m.	h. m.	h. m.	h. m.	h. m.	h. m.	h. m.	h. m.
1	Mon.	4 26	7 40	4 31	7 35	4 37	7 29	4 55	7 11	5 1	7 5
2	Tues.	26	40	32	35	37	29	55	11	1	4
3	Wed.	27	40	32	35	38	29	56	11	1	4
4	Thurs.	27	39	33	34	38	28	56	11	2	4
5	Frid.	28	39	33	34	39	28	57	11	2	4
6	Satur.	29	39	34	34	40	28	57	11	3	4
7	SUND.	4 30	7 39	4 35	7 34	4 40	7 28	4 58	7 11	5 4	7 4
8	Mon.	30	38	35	33	41	27	58	10	4	3
9	Tues.	31	38	36	33	42	27	59	10	5	3
10	Wed.	32	38	37	33	42	27	5 0	10	5	3
11	Thurs.	33	37	38	32	43	26	0	10	6	3
12	Frid.	33	37	39	32	44	26	1	9	6	2
13	Satur.	34	36	39	31	45	25	1	9	7	2
14	SUND.	4 35	7 36	4 40	7 31	4 45	7 25	5 2	7 9	5 8	7 2
15	Mon.	36	35	41	30	46	24	3	8	8	2
16	Tues.	37	34	42	29	47	24	3	8	9	1
17	Wed.	38	34	43	29	48	23	4	8	10	1
18	Thurs.	39	33	44	28	49	23	4	7	10	1
19	Frid.	39	32	44	27	50	22	5	7	11	0
20	Satur.	40	32	45	27	50	21	5	7	11	0
21	SUND.	4 41	7 31	4 46	7 26	4 51	7 21	5 6	7 6	5 12	6 59
22	Mon.	42	30	47	25	52	20	7	5	12	59
23	Tues.	43	29	48	24	53	19	7	5	13	58
24	Wed.	44	28	49	23	53	18	8	4	13	57
25	Thurs.	45	27	49	22	54	17	8	3	14	57
26	Frid.	46	26	50	22	55	17	9	3	14	56
27	Satur.	47	25	51	21	56	16	10	2	15	55
28	SUND.	4 48	7 24	4 52	7 20	4 56	7 15	5 11	7 1	5 16	6 55
29	Mon.	49	23	53	19	57	14	11	0	16	54
30	Tues.	50	22	54	18	58	14	12	0	17	54
31	Wed.	51	21	55	17	56	13	13	6 59	18	53

MOON rises or sets. Mean time.

Boston, &c. rises.	N. York, &c. rises.	Wash'n, &c. rises.	Cha'ston &c. rises.	N. Orl'ns &c. rises.
h. m.	h. m.	h. m.	h. m.	h. m.
6 34A	6 31A	6 27A	6 15A	6 12A
7 10	7 8	7 6	6 57	6 54
7 43	7 41	7 39	7 24	7 34
8 10	8 9	8 10	8 8	8 8
8 39A	8 37A	8 33A	8 23A	8 20A
9 15	9 12	9 10	9 4	9 2
9 42	9 42	9 41	9 37	9 37
10 10	10 10	10 10	10 10	10 11
10 36	10 38	10 37	10 43	10 45
11 2	11 34	11 7	11 13	11 16
11 29A	11 33A	11 36A	11 45A	11 50A
.. ..	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..
0 0M	0 3M	0 8M	0 19M	0 26M
0 33	0 38	0 43	0 57	1 4
1 11	1 16	1 22	1 37	1 45
1 55	2 1	2 6	2 23	2 32
2 45	2 51	2 58	3 14	3 32
sets.	*sets.*	*sets.*	*sets.*	*sets.*
7 28A	7 24A	7 20A	7 8A	7 4A
7 59	7 56	7 54	7 45	7 43
8 29	8 27	8 25	8 20	8 19
8 57	8 56	8 56	8 53	8 53
9 24	9 25	9 25	9 27	9 29
9 53	9 54	9 56	10 1	10 3
10 23A	10 25A	10 29A	10 36A	10 41A
10 59	11 2	11 7	11 19	11 24
11 36	11 43	11 49	.. ..	.. ..
.. ..	.. ..	.. ..	0 3M	0 11M
0 27M	0 33M	0 39M	0 55	1 3
1 24	1 31	1 36	1 54	2 3
rises.	*rises.*	*rises.*	*rises.*	*rises.*

EPISTLES AND GOSPELS OF THE Sundays and Festivals in the month of July.

	EPISTLE.	GOSPEL.
Sixth Sunday, after Pent.	Rom. vi. 3—11.	Mark viii. 1—10.
Seventh Sunday,	Rom. vi 19—23.	Matt. vii 15—21.
Eighth Sunday,	Rom. viii 12—17.	Luke xvi 1—9.
Ninth Sunday,	1 Cor. x 6—14.	Luke xiv 41—47.

PHASES OF THE MOON.

	D.	H.	M.
Last quarter,	7	5	41M.
New moon,	15	6	15A.
First quarter,	22	4	4M.
Full moon,	29	9	25M